FBIS DAILY REPORT

CONTENTS

Soviet Union

30 Jun 87 FBIS-SOV-87-125

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Reagan's Remarks on Arms Reduction Reported AA 1
U.S. Raising 'New Obstacles' to Arms Talks AA 1
Delays Seen in Reaching Medium-Range Arms Accord [Kalyagin] AA 2
Delegate Discusses Progress at Geneva Arms Talks AA 3
Karpov Interviewed on Euromissile Draft Accord [MTI] AA 4
Karpov Writes on Missiles in FRG Paper [Hamburg DER SPIEGEL 15 Jun] AA 5
NATO Stance at Vienna Consultations Examined [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 12 Jun] AA 6
French Communist Paper Interviews Vorontsov [Paris L'HUMANITE 10 Jun] AA 9
Zholkver Views U.S., NATO Stands on Arms Control AA 12

COMMUNIST RELATIONS

East Bloc Reaction to CPSU Plenum Noted [IZVESTIYA 29 Jun] BB 1

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Further Reportage on Perez de Cuellar's Visit CC 1
Talks With Shevardnadze CC 1
Meets With Ukraine Officials [IZVESTIYA 29 Jun] CC 1
Gorbachev Receives Perez de Cuellar [PRAVDA 30 Jun] CC 2

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UNITED STATES & CANADA

State Department Human Rights Policy Viewed A 1
Shultz Admits Lies Told in Iran-Contra Affair A 2
U.S. Cultivating 'Deadly' Viruses for Military Use [Markushin in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 14 Jun] A 2
Paper Notes Ex-CIA Man's Return to U.S. [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 21 Jun] A 3
Nikonov Receives U.S. Banking Official 27 Jun A 3

CHINA

PRC Trade Union Delegation Begins Visit [TRUD 23 Jun] B 1
Shalayev Meets Visitors [TRUD 24 Jun] B 1
Soviet-Chinese Border Trade Increases B 2

NORTHEAST ASIA

Weinberger Arrives in Japan for Military Talks C 1
Kalinin Commentary C 1
Chon Tu-hwan Meets With Opposition Leader C 2
'Hypocritical' U.S. Appeals to S. Korea Viewed C 3
[Biryukov]

SOUTHEAST ASIA & PACIFIC

Shultz, Weinberger Hold Talks in Australia D 1
[Konnov]
Aim To Influence Election D 1
[PRAVDA 23 Jun]
Demichev Receives Burmese Parliamentarians D 2
[PRAVDA 25 Jun]

NEAR EAST & SOUTH ASIA

U.S. Activities in Middle East Questioned [Ivanov] E 1
U.S. Beefs Up Gulf Forces, Looks for 'Pretext' [Biryukov] E 2
Reagan's Gulf Moves Draw Congressional Criticism E 2
[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 26 Jun]
U.S., Western Services Aid Afghan Terror Acts E 3
[Krotov in IZVESTIYA 20 Jun]
Pakistan, U.S. Cited in Afghan 'Interference' E 4
Iran Continues 'Undeclared War' Against DRA E 5

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Zimbabwe's Mugabe Arrives, Meets With Officials F 1
Meets With Gorbachev [PRAVDA 28 Jun] F 1
Interviewed by Moscow TV F 3
Seen Off by Dobrynin [PRAVDA 28 Jun] F 4
Anticholera Vaccination Supplies Donated to Angola F 5
[PRAVDA 20 Jun]
Political Consultations Protocol Signed With Ghana F 5
[IZVESTIYA 21 Jun]
PRAVDA Notes Appointment of New Ambassador to Togo F 5
[24 Jun]

EAST EUROPE

PRAVDA Reports Hungarian Leadership Changes [26 Jun] G 1
Presidium Congratulates Nemeth on Presidency G 1
[PRAVDA 26 Jun]
Council of Ministers Congratulates Grosz G 2
[PRAVDA 26 Jun]
U.S. Trade Move Against Romania Criticized G 2
[PRAVDA 29 Jun]

WEST EUROPE

Rust Flight Compared To Past U.S. 'Provocations' H 1
[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 28 Jun]

LATIN AMERICA & CARIBBEAN

Panama Assembly Seeks U.S. Ambassador's Removal I 1
Contras Accused of Misusing Red Cross Emblem I 1

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLITICAL & SOCIAL

Plenum Produces Document on Economic Restructuring R 1
[PRAVDA 27 Jun]
Economist Aganbegyan Comments on Plenum Proceedings R 22
Sees 'Revolutionary' Changes R 23
Cites Reforms' Goals R 23
IZVESTIYA Details Supreme Soviet Meeting [30 Jun] R 24
IZVESTIYA's Laptev Addresses Journalists' Plenum R 26
[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 20 Jun]
RSFSR Presidium Releases Council Deputy R 36
PRAVDA Notes Dismissal of Bashkir First Secretary [24 Jun] R 36

ECONOMIC

Plant Economists' Role in Restructuring Viewed S 1
[PRAVDA 16 Jun]
Worker Sees Industry in 'Same Work Rut' S 3
[PRAVDA 16 Jun]
Leningrad: Gorispolkom Boosts Efficiency, Services S 5
[IZVESTIYA 17 Jun]
Briefs: Arctic Summer Navigation S 7

AGRICULTURAL

Shortages in Supplies for Agriculture Reported T 1
Media Covers 15-20 Jun Agricultural Developments T 1

SCIENTIFIC

Amateur Radio Engineer Transmits Via Cosmos-1861 U 1

MILITARY

Historian Rejects Revision of Soviet History V 1
[Prague RUDE PRAVO 20 Jun]

REAGAN'S REMARKS ON ARMS REDUCTION REPORTED

LD292056 Moscow TASS in English 2023 GMT 29 Jun 87

[Text] Washington June 29 TASS -- Speaking on Monday before the activists of the Republican Party, President Reagan admitted that it was for realism in Soviet-U.S. relations. [sentence as received] This realism was the first step not toward controlling the growth of the number of arms but in bringing about real and verifiable restructions in the number of weapons. Reagan expressed the hope that the Soviet-U.S. talks on eliminating medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe could soon be successfully completed.

However, he demanded at the same time that the Congress satisfy completely and unconditionally the administration's request for defense appropriations. As is known, the White House requested for these purposes 312 billion dollars in the fiscal 1988. The administration needs these billions to build up nuclear armaments, including the first-strike MX and Trident-2 missiles, cruise missiles, and to develop new Midgetman missiles, stealth bombers and space weapons systems.

Dismissing the attempts by the Congress to cut down defense appropriations for the fiscal 1988, Reagan said: "Some in Congress want to cut defense spending...I won't let them."

U.S. RAISING 'NEW OBSTACLES' TO ARMS TALKS

LD270520 Moscow TASS in English 0305 GMT 27 Jun 87

[Text] Washington June 26 TASS -- The U.S. is not going to eliminate the Pershing-2 intermediate-range nuclear missiles deployed in West Germany. Instead of it is going to turn them into Pershing-1B shorter-range missiles which are to be adopted later by the West Germany Army. These plans of Washington which run counter to the initial draft treaty on intermediate-range missiles providing for the elimination of Pershing-2 missiles were set forth at a briefing for journalists here by Phyllis Oakley, representative of the U .S. Department of State.

She said that if an agreement was concluded on setting a "global zero" for shorter-range missiles, the U.S. would have no right to deploy by itself Pershing-1B missiles in Europe.

The U.S. intends to turn Pershing-2 into Pershing-1B missiles through a simple removal of one of the states in intermediate-range missiles. The stage can be easily put back, which would permit the U.S. to quickly restore its potential of intermediate-range missiles in Europe at any time.

Many of the journalists who were present at the briefing regarded Oakley's statement as evidence to the effect that Washington was putting up new obstacles on the way to reaching final agreements on intermediate-range missiles. One of the journalists asked Oakley if he understood her statement in a correct way. He believe that the point at issue is the intention of the U.S. to remove the weapon system that are covered by the agreement and to turn them into those that are not included in it, although by their range of action they should be covered by the agreement.

DELAYS SEEN IN REACHING MEDIUM-RANGE ARMS ACCORD

LD282222 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 28 Jun 87

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Boris Kalyagin]

[Text] Hello, Comrades! The world is waiting for an agreement to be reached between the Soviet Union and the United States on medium-range missiles and operational and tactical missiles. After numerous delays and consultations, the NATO countries, through their foreign affairs ministers, seemed to have given a positive reply to our proposals. It appeared possible to sit down and prepare a joint draft treaty. That is why the interest in the meeting within the framework of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapos that took place at the beginning of this week in Geneva was so great. In the talks that took place, progress was noted in the harmonization of the draft treaty provisions.

From the U.S. side, however, new attempts were made to deviate from what was agreed between Washington and Moscow at a political level. Demands which are at variance with the principle of equal security are again being presented to us. This explains the U.S. striving to keep its 72 nuclear warheads for the Pershing-1A missiles with which the West German Bundeswehr is armed, and attempts to place this weapon outside the scope of the Soviet-U.S. treaty.

FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl has come out with such a demand and the United States is supporting him. The logic of both Washington and Bonn is as follows: The missiles belong to the FRG while the arms of third parties are not the subject of the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva. But such arguments are beneath criticism. The U.S. nuclear warheads can in no way be regarded as FRG property. According to Article 1 of the Treaty on NonProliferation of nuclear arms, the United States pledged to abstain from transferring nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices to anybody, directly or indirectly. In its turn, Bonn, according to Article 2 of the same treaty, pledged itself not to accept such weapons from anybody. Consequently, the nuclear warheads for Pershing-1A missiles cannot in any way be regarded as military facilities of third countries.

Moreover, if one agrees to the variant suggested by the United States, the Pentagon will get a loophole for building up in Western Europe its nuclear warheads for missiles belonging to other NATO countries. The U.S. State Department has already announced that the U.S. is not going to liquidate the Pershing-2 medium-range missiles deployed in the FRG but intends only to convert them into Pershing-1B operational and tactical missiles and to send them to arm the same FRG, so that they are not covered by the Soviet-U.S. agreement that is being prepared. But this is an obvious violation of the thrust of the agreement on the complete liquidation of Euromissiles.

Certain Western leaders have undergone a peculiar metamorphosis, or, rather, they have shown their true faces. They used to claim they wished to start the process of disarmament yet complained that the Americans were holding it up. Now it seems to be the other way around: the Washington Administration seems to have nothing against signing the treaty on Euromissiles but keeps referring to its Western partners who are coming out with various reservations which, are supposedly, to be taken into account. Changing places, however, does not change the end result.

The West is still trying to gain concessions from our country to obtain unilateral advantages or to postpone the whole matter indefinitely. But time does not wait. Western observers themselves write that it is time to hurry up with the agreement. It would answer the national interests of all countries, including the FRG. The West German leaders have stated more than once that they are in favor of developing relations with our country along the lines of detente. At the same time, the fact that the FRG government is playing the role of instigator in building up military preparations, while also being very reluctant about reducing armaments -- which has been shown in the case with the Pershing-1 missiles -- cannot but cause alarm. As you see, security issues remain crucial in relations between our countries.

DELEGATE DISCUSSES PROGRESS AT GENEVA ARMS TALKS

LD272133 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 27 Jun 87

[Correspondent Vladimir Dmitriyev reports from Geneva]

[Text] The eighth round of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons has been working here for 2 months. At the latest round the USSR delegation proposed a draft treaty on the liquidation of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe. I am asking Ambassador Obukhov, deputy head of the Soviet delegation, to speak about how the talks are going and what has been achieved in the eighth round:

[Begin Obukhov recording] In the sphere of medium-range missiles a certain degree of progress has been achieved. Work is underway on the harmonization of the wording in the joint draft treaty which envisages the liquidation of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe. The progress on the treaty which would signify an historically important step along the path toward freeing Europe from nuclear threat has been made possible by major initiatives undertaken by the Soviet side. As a result, the prospect of achieving an agreement as soon as this fall has opened up. From the U.S. side, however, positions are being put forward concerning some aspects of the problem of medium-range missiles which are hampering progress.

On must say that lately, in connection with the NATO reply to our proposal on operational and tactical missiles -- the question of these missiles is also supposed to be resolved within the context of the accord on medium-range missiles -- new difficulties are springing up. Specifically, the United States, while seemingly agreeing to the liquidation of Soviet and U.S. operational and tactical missiles in Europe, would like at the same time to keep its warheads on 72 Pershing-1A missiles belonging to the FRG. It turns out that the USSR is to get no operational and tactical missiles in Europe, whereas no zero option is envisaged for the United States, obviously. This, I repeat, is hampering progress and is threatening to thwart the planned schedule for concluding work on the draft treaty. Good will and specific and constructive steps by Washington are required in reply to our far-reaching proposals. [end recording]

KARPOV INTERVIEWED ON EUROMISSILE DRAFT ACCORD

LD2720844 Budapest MTI in English 0001 GMT 27 Jun 87

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Budapest, June 27 (MTI) -- Viktor Karpov, head of the disarmament department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, gave an interview to MAGYAR HIRLAP, which carries it in the Saturday issue. Parts of the interview follow:

Q: Not so long ago, the world press began to carry reports that a preliminary draft document had been completed in Geneva on the Euromissiles. However, not much has been heard about what this draft contains...

A: "It is only with the best intention that we can term this document 'jointly agreed on'. The agreements of principle achieved in Reykjavik served as basis for it, but there are several points that still require clarification, in view of the differing opinion of the sides.

"The final agreement depends on whether the American side changes its opinion in certain issues or not. Of these, I would mention the three most important issues:

1. Paradoxical as it is, while voicing the necessity of dismantling the missiles with ranges of 500-1,000 kilometres, Washington wishes to keep its Pershing-1 A type missiles, although these belong to that category. And it wants to accomplish this, as these missiles are in the property of the FRG under a former agreement, in the way that they would quickly hand over the related American warheads on the basis of a new agreement.

"The Non-Proliferation Treaty strictly bans one country from transferring nuclear weapons to another country, or for the latter country to accept any. Both the USA and the FRG have signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Nevertheless, Washington would like the Pershing-1 A missiles to be left out of consideration in Geneva, since these are in the property of 'a third country'. And the agreement thus would be made to refer to the Soviet and the American armaments only.

"2. We take a different view of how the missiles could be gradually decreased. It is no secret that the Soviet Union has more warheads in Europe than the USA. What we proposed was to simultaneously start to reduce them, and because it is the just way -- we would dismantle them at a faster pace so that we could gradually offset the existing disproportion. The Americans want us to go ahead with it, to reduce the number unilaterally, and they would join in 'somewhere along the line'.

"3. As is known, in the spirit of the Reykjavik agreement of principle, 100 warheads on each side would remain on the medium-range nuclear missiles of the Soviet Union deployed in Asia, and on those deployed on the area of the USA. However, it is by far not insignificant for us where the USA will deploy those types of missiles. For example, they directly threaten certain areas of the Soviet Union from Alaska. What we would like is for our area to fall outside the range of these missiles, just as the United States is not within the range of our missiles of the similar type", said, among other things, Viktor Karpov in the interview.

KARPOV WRITES ON MISSILES IN FRG PAPER

DW151230 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 15 Jun 87 pp 19-20

[Article by Viktor Karpov, former Soviet chief delegate to the Geneva disarmament negotiations and head of the USSR Arms Control and Disarmament Directorate: "To Whom Do the Warheads Belong?"]

[Text] What is our idea of a possible solution for medium-range missiles in Europe on the basis of the results reached in Soviet-U.S. talks?

In Europe, the United States would have to scrap the Pershing-2 and the cruise missiles, and the Soviet Union the SS-20 missiles. That would mean that neither Soviet nor U.S. missiles of that class would be left in Europe. At the same time, neither Soviet SS-12 and SS-23 missiles, nor U.S. Pershing-1A and Pershing-1B missiles, which belong to the same class and have a range of 500-1,000 km, would be allowed to remain in Europe. Of course, in that case not just the missiles themselves, but also the pertinent warheads, would have to be removed.

Consequently there must be no U.S. or Soviet warheads for medium-range missiles and operational-tactical missiles in Europe. That also applies to U.S. warheads that have been stockpiled for the Bundeswehr's Pershing-1A missiles.

A U.S. draft treaty on medium-range missiles also recognized the fact that those warheads are intended for operational-tactical missiles and must therfore be destroyed. The acceptance of the Soviet proposal on the removal from Europe of medium-range and operational-tactical missiles and their warheads would close any loopholes by which the treaty could be breached.

The U.S. side has supported Federal Chancellor Kohl's 4 June government statement, saying that weapons belonging to third countries should not be subject of the negotiations. Those who try to understand that will see that the United States' and the Federal Government's viewpoint is paradoxical.

Let us assume that the nuclear warheads for the West German Pershing-1A missiles are "weapons of a third country," as the United States thinks. Then we have to assume that they do not belong to the United States. But to whom do they belong? It is clear that they cannot belong to the Federal Republic.

Under Article 2 of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Federal Republic has undertaken the obligation not to take over directly or indirectly nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosives from anyone, or accept supervision of such weapons or explosives.

The problem is this: The warheads for West German Pershing-1A missiles must remain in the possession of the United States -- not placed under FRG supervision -- for the United States to observe the provisions of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Or has the United States ceded supervision of those warheads to the Federal Republic, thereby violating its obligations under the Non-Proliferation Treaty?

However, if the United States remains the owner of the aforementioned warheads and continues to supervise them, it is totally impossible to consider them "weapons of a third country." They must be considered U.S. warheads for operational-tactical missiles and therefore would be destroyed.

Any other solution in which U.S. nuclear warheads for West German operational-tactical missiles would remain in Europe, would provide an opportunity to elude the Soviet-U.S. agreement and would make it meaningless.

If we granted the United States the right to deploy warheads for West German operational-tactical missiles today on a quasi-legitimate basis, it might want to do the same in Italy, the Netherlands, Turkey, or other NATO countries tomorrrow. It would give those countries Pershing-1A or Pershing-1B missiles and in addition would deploy U.S. nuclear warheads

In theory, we can also conceive of a situation where Soviet allies -- the GDR or CSSR in the Warsaw Pact, for example -- would ask the Soviet Union to leave operational-tactical SS-12 missiles on its territory, hand them over to their armies, and deploy Soviet nuclear warheads for them. Other allies could make a similar request ot the USSR regarding the SS-12 or SS-23 missiles.

It should be clear that such developments within NATO and the Warsaw Pact would by no means be in accordance with the objective of removing the entire complex of medium-range missiles and operational-tactical missiles from Europe.

In the Geneva negotiations, the Soviet and U.S. delegation have formulated the first variant of the joint draft treaty on removing medium-range missiles from Europe. Thus the basis of an agreement acceptable to both sides has been created that must be taken seriously.

However, the U.S. position still contains elements preventing that. They include, for example, the proposal to change the Pershing-2 medium-range missiles into operational-tactical missiles or to permit the deployment of land-based cruise missiles on ships, not scraping them.

The proposal to be permitted to leave part of the U.S. nuclear warheads for operational-tactical missiles in Europe can only be assessed as indicating that the U.S. side is not really ready to work seriously for a mutually acceptable agreement on the double zero solution on the European continent.

The assertions that such a solution is being pursued will only sound convincing if the U.S. position in the negotiations in substance is not in such flagrant contradiction to its policy statements.

NATO STANCE AT VIENNA CONSULTATIONS EXAMINED

PM111845 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jun 87 First Edition p 3

[Editorial Article: "It Is Up to the West's Political Will"]

[Text] For almost 4 months unofficial consultations have continued in Vienna between representatives of Warsaw Pact and NATO countries on questions connected with drawing up the mandate of future negotations on the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. [paragraph continues]

As is known, a program for such reductions was put forward at the conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee which took place in Budapest in June 1986. It envisages the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe by 25 percent in the early 1990's carried out simultaneously and as an integral package with tactical nuclear means.

Representatives of 23 countries are participating in the consultations: 7 from the Warsaw Pact and 16 from the North Atlantic Alliance. Over the past months they have done a certain amount of useful work. The very fact that the consultations are being held should be evaluated positively. During these consultations the representatives of the Warsaw Pact countries, acting in a businesslike and constructive spirit, have not only expounded their approach to talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe, but have also made known their detailed considerations on elements of the mandate of future negotiations. They believe that the aim of the negotiations must be a stage-by-stage and substantial reduction of armed forces, and of tactical nuclear and conventional arms in Europe, and also the elimination in the course of the reductions of any inequality which might emerge in certain elements of armaments, by means of reductions on the part of those finding themselves ahead. It is presupposed that all components of ground forces and tactical strike aviation of European states and also of the corresponding forces and means of the United States and Canada stationed in Europe will be subject to reduction, together with their organic arms and combat hardware, together with tactical nuclear means. As for the participants in future talks, Warsaw Pact countries feel it would be expedient to conduct the discussion of reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe within the framework of an all-European forum, with the participation of all European states and also the United States and Canada.

Unfortunately, the stance adopted by the representatives of the NATO states during the consultations cannot be called constructive. So far, they still do not have a concerted position regarding the mandate for future negotiations and they are giving paramount importance to the far-fetched "problem" of the "military superiority" of the Warsaw Pact Organization over the NATO bloc. The United States and their closest NATO allies are insisting that the talks should be conducted only between the members of the two military-political alliances, outside the framework of the CSCE, and they are even trying to use the actual holding of the consultations to take de facto disarmament problems out of the all-European process.

Moreover, counter to the aims of the CSCE, targetting reduced military confrontation, and also counter to the tasks of the consultations in Vienna concerning future negotiations, the NATO countries at recent sessions of the supreme military bodies of this bloc in Brussels while talking about eliminating disproportionality in the armaments of the sides, have advocated an increase in the military potential of their alliance, the development [razrabotka] of new weapons systems based on modern technology for the sake of achieving military superiority over the Warsaw Pact Organization, and a further increase in military spending. If these facts are compared with the statements of a number of representatives of the NATO countries at the Vienna consultations, and especially the representative of the FRG, about the fact that they are adopting a wait-and-see position counting on new impetus from the North Atlantic bloc's council session taking place in Reykjavik just now, it is not difficult to imagine what form this "impetus" might take.

But whatever artificial obstacles are erected on the way to achieving mutually acceptable accords by certain participants of the Vienna consultations, and however they may try to retard the drawing up of a mandate for future negotations, they are having to come to terms increasingly frequently with the realities of our times. [paragraph continues]

The position expounded in the documents of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee adopted in Berlin at the end of May this year are of very important significance for moving the Vienna negotiations forward. They contain in concentrated form a proclamation of the political credo of the allied socialist states and a formulation of an invitation to the NATO countries to carry out joint actions in the matter of radically renewing international relations and making them more humane.

In this sense the reduction of armed forces and tactical and nuclear arms in Europe to such a level whereby neither of the sides, while ensuring its own defense, would have the forces and means for a surprise attack or for launching [razvertyvaniye] offensive operations, is of important significance.

In this connection the Warsaw Pact countries have appealed to all CSCE participant states to hold a meeting of foreign ministers which would make a decision on starting large-scale talks for the purpose of a radical reduction of armed forces and conventional arms and tactical nuclear weapons in Europe with the corresponding reduction of military spending. A number of top-priority measures connected with lowering the level of military confrontation and averting the threat of a surprise attack, the reciprocal withdrawal of the most dangerous, offensive types of armaments from the zone where the two military alliances are directly contiguous, and also the reduction of the concentration of armed forces and armaments in this zone to the minimum agreed level ought to be discussed at such talks.

In the opinion of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, the best forum for solving all these questions would be the second stage of the CSCE. At the same time other variations for the discussion of disarmament issues are possible, above all in the framework of the all-European process, including the convening of a special forum. In this connection the allied socialist states have stressed the important significance of the unofficial consultations taking place in Vienna which are required to promote the drawing up of a mandate for future negotiations.

The Warsaw Pact countries' statement of readiness to display the maximum restraint with regard to the development of their military potentials, to refrain on the basis of reciprocity from building up armed forces and armaments, and to declare a moratorium for 1-2 years on the increase of military spending is confirmation of the good will of the Warsaw Pact countries and of their desire to ensure the best conditions for future negotiations. They call upon the NATO countries to display just such an approach.

The profoundly thought out and carefully reasoned proposals, which are in accord with the interests of all the peoples of Europe, which were drawn up at the Berlin conference of the Political Consultative Committee provide an opportunity for the representatives of the NATO countries at the unofficial consultations in Vienna to respond positively to them. The content of the proposals of the Warsaw Pact states is such that they are perfectly adequate so that the tasks facing the participants of the consultations may be defined and so that a corresponding constructive position may be taken, and so that the solution of these tasks may be embarked upon. It is impossible not to see that the development of world events, the change in international relations, the growing interdependence of states, and scientific and technical progress increasingly imperatively demand new political thinking and a new approach to questions of war and peace, disarmament, and other complex problems of the present time. It is precisely from this premise that the representatives of the Warsaw Pact countries are proceeding at the Vienna consultations. While defending their interests, they are also prepared to recognize the legitimate interests of their partners and they hopefully await a response by the NATO countries to the new proposals put forward in Berlin.

On 15 June the next meeting will take place in the framework of drawing up a mandate for future negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe. It is to be hoped that this meeting will take place fruitfully and will lead to progress in solving the tasks set before it. For this, all that is needed is the political will of its participants. The Warsaw Pact countries have plenty of this kind of will and they have proved it. Now the countries of the North Alliance must also display the same will for the successful conclusion of the consultations. It is up to them, and up to them alone.

FRENCH COMMUNIST PAPER INTERVIEWS VORONTSOV

PM161416 Paris L'HUMANITE in French 10 Jun 87 p 9

[Interview with Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov by Bernard Frederick -- date and place not given]

[Text] [Frederick] Mrs Thatcher, George Shultz, and Jacques Chirac have made successive visits to Moscow. The Soviet leadership has put forward specific proposals, especially on disarmament in Europe. But things seem to be marking time. What is your feeling?

[Vorontsov] With the Americans in private, and semi-publicly with Mrs Thatcher and Mr Chirac, we discussed the need to examine security and disarmament problems in a serious way -- a new way. We are often asked why they need to be examined in a new way. Why now? Why could this not have been done 10 years ago?

We think the answer is clear: 10 years ago everybody in the world thought that the more nuclear weapons there were, the more secure the world would be. In the course of these 10 years, nobody can say exactly when or how, we crossed an invisible line beyond which the world's security is increasingly threatened by the increase in nuclear weapons. The Americans estimate that there are now 60,000 warheads of all kinds in the world, from the smallest weighing 0.5 megaton to the biggest. Fine. Let us agree on this figure. The Americans are producing some 2,000 warheads per year. We are producing slightly fewer. But, let us say our production is of the same order. It is easy to calculate that, in 5 to 10 years time, the total number of nuclear warheads will be 100,000. What is the point? What are we going to do with them? We will be tripping over warheads.... An accidental explosion will become increasingly likely. The risk of nuclear war will increase considerably and this in turn will reduce security.

This is, therefore, a pressing matter. It is high time that we halted this race. We are taking another factor into account. This is a factor which the West, especially France, could have taken into account but have failed to do so. We have done so: It is Chernobyl.

People in Europe were very frightened by the fact that the radioactivity discharged after the accident at the power station spread beyond the Chernobyl region. The power station is near Kiev, but there was panic in Sweden, Britain, the FRG, Spain, France, and Italy.... At the time people in Rome dumped fruit and vegetables which were thought to be contaminated outside the doors of our embassy. We think that that was an extreme reaction. The level of radioacvitity was not dangerous, at least not for those countries. But the Chernobyl radioactive leak is equivalent to one third of the power of the smallest explosion -- 1 kiloton, perhaps less.

Europe trembled over the radioactive fallout from an explosion of 1 kiloton or less, and there are 60,000 much more powerful warheads in the world. For instance, the explosion of one Pershing missile is equivalent to around 600 Chernobyl leaks.

The arms race phenomenon therefore deserves to be examined openly today. That is why we are urging the Western countries to adopt a new attitude. If we are told that a Europe without nuclear weapons is impossible, we reply: Think about it. We must not just repeat what was said in the fifties. Things have changed. We must think about the present time and the prospects for the coming years.

This explains the reasons for our proposals on the medium-range and shorter-range missiles in Europe. Look: We are prepared to destroy more warheads than the West. The Pershing-2 missiles have a single warhead and the SS-20 missliles have three. If the agreement on which we are working in Geneva is accepted, the West will have to destroy 400 nuclear warheads and we will have to destroy 1,200. We do not regret this. We do not think that we will be at a disadvantage. Everybody will gain from this.

[Frederick] In January 1986, Mikhail Gorbachev put forward a draft plan for the total destruction of all nuclear weapons by the year 2000. You then made new proposals. How is all this linked? Do the latest proposals replace the plan for complete destruction?

[Vorontsov] Our general line is the statement of 15 January. If the West was prepared to accept that plan, we would much more readily discuss the total destruction of nuclear weapons by the 1st day of the year 2000. But this is not the case. The United States and its allies are not prepared to destroy all nuclear weapons.

How can we live without nuclear weapons, ask people in your countries. We reply that the nuclear bomb appeared in 1945 and that before that mankind lived without that weapon. We are then told that nuclear weapons have guaranteed peace by deterring us from attacking the West. But there is a more simple, clearer, and more accurate explanation for this: Perhaps we have never had and do not have any intention of attacking the West.

The reason why there has been no war is that we did not want to wage war. But we can cite numerous aggressions by the West: Vietnam, the Middle East, the Malvinas.... I repeat that nuclear weapons do not frighten us. We do not want to attack anybody. An agreement on the Euromissiles would be very important for Europe and for the whole of mankind, because it would be a real revolution in human consciousness. It would prove that it is possible to destroy nuclear weapons, that we have the means of doing so, and that it is possible to live peacefully.

We think that an agreement on the Euromissiles will be step toward an agreement on strategic weapons and toward a 50 percent reduction in those weapons for instance, as Mikhail Gorbachev proposed.

[Frederick] The theory of deterrence may have worked in your favor. Has not the USSR escaped attack from imperialism because it had nuclear weapons?

[Vorontsov] Just suppose there were no longer any nuclear weapons in our country or the United States; we would be capable of repelling any aggressor by conventional means. We did not identify with the bomb. There are some politicians in the West who could be described as half-man, half-bomb. This is not true in our country.

[Frederick] And yet, what the West says is that peace is more comprehensively maintained by nuclear weapons, by the balance of nuclear forces.

[Vorontsov] Listen. All the calculations show that if we suffered a nuclear attack and did not respond we would still all die at the same time, or more or less the same time. You would possibly die a little later than us, as long as it took for the cloud to reach you. Remember Chernobyl. It is important to understand that if there was a conventional war in Europe and the Americans launched their Pershing missiles against us, we would die but so would Western Europe, without there being any need for us to retaliate. As I said before, we are learning from Chernobyl, but the West is not.

[Frederick] In your view what role can public opinion now play? When problems have reached this stage and meetings have reached this level, what can the man in the street do, what weight does his opinion have?

[Vorontsov] The man in the street and public opinion can do a great deal. In the Western countries, for instance, several ways of responding to our proposals have been examined. There has been a suggestion that a new U.S. missile should be deployed in Europe to replace the one which we were proposing to dismantle. Well, many European governments said to the Americans: no, definitely not. This is becuse public opinion in their countries prevents them from raising the question of a new missile. Public opinion is playing a major role. We must abandon old ways of thinking, approach things in a new way, and assess the danger.

[Frederick] In this connection, world opinion responded positively to the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests. It was worried by the resumption of your tests. Was that moratorium a failure?

[Vorontsov] We placed great hopes in the moratorium and through that there was strong international pressure on the Americans. Unfortunately, that was not the case. Perhaps this is because the nuclear tests are carried out a long way from Europe, far from our continent's population. France, for example, tests its weapons in the Pacific, a long way from Paris. Moreover, these tests are conducted underground and it is generally thought that there is no fallout. There is, therefore, a degree of tolerance for these tests.

Our proposal was applauded but not enough pressure was exerted on the Western countries which are pursuing their tests. It was rather like this story from World War I: Some Italian soldiers were reluctant to leave the trenches and launch an attack. A patriotic young captain then climbed out of the trench, unsheathed his sword, and cried: "Forward for Italy." The soldiers clapped: "Bravo captain...." They applauded us from the bottom of the trench too.

We resumed our nuclear tests, stating that we were prepared to halt them as soon as the Americans stopped theirs. We are waiting for this position to be supported. There must be strong international pressure. That is way we greatly appreciate the declaration of the six countries which launched the New Delhi appeal. Six countries is a good start, but we will need 50 or 60. We will then say to them, fine, we will stop. We still hope to be able to stop the arms race in this way.

[Frederick] How does Moscow view France's official position on the disarmament question?

[Vorontsov] The Soviet leadership has the impression that we have failed to find a common language with the French on this question. The predominant factor in the official French attitude is the desire to maintain the French nuclear arsenal and safeguard it from any attempt to touch it. But we are not touching that arsenal. We have no proposal for doing this. We are now saying that we Soviets and Americans have the largest number of nuclear weapons and that it is up to us to take the first step, not a country like France. What we want from Paris is understanding of the need for this process. The French arsenal is not at stake but France must realize that the process of reduction, not to say destruction of nuclear weapons in Europe must be supported. But France does not want to discuss this in a constructive way because it does not want anybody to touch its nuclear force. This is why there are no constructive talks on this issue. I repeat that what we want to obtain from France is support in the preliminary talks with the Americans but it is dissociating itself from this question: We hope that France will not oppose the dismantling of the Euromissiles.

ZHOLKVER VIEWS U.S., NATO STANDS ON ARMS CONTROL

LD242215 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Jun 87

[Commentary by political observer Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Text] The speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the World Women's Conference has provoked the most extensive response not only among the female public but also among all those who are seriously concerned about the present world situation. There are more than enough reasons for this concern, unfortunately.

The United States continues to instigate the arms race on earth as well as in space. The retiring U.S. general and the supreme allied commander in Europe, Rogers, while handing over his post to his successor, is tirelessly advocating the Atlantic doctrine of nuclear intimidation. The persistent aspiration of the U.S. delegation in Geneva to preserve intact U.S. nuclear warheads for the Pershing-1A missiles also attracts attention. The latter are under the control of the Bundeswehr.

One cannot help noticing that it is precisely in the recent past, when, it seems, prospects for specific measures for nuclear and other disarmament in Europe have taken shape, they have started talking in Bonn and Paris about setting up joint military formations equipped with the latest types of weapons.

Strauss, the leader of the West German conservatives, even speaks in favor of setting up a joint European nuclear potential. At the same time, in the West, including on western radio stations, they are tirelessly reiterating: Let the Soviet Union confirm its good will by actions. Yet, have there not been more than enough such actions? Were not Soviet nuclear testing grounds silent for 11 months at the very time when nuclear explosions were thundering one after another in Nevada. Did not the USSR stop the production of chemical weapons? As far as the reduction of conventional weapons is concerned, it is now a year since specific proposals on this account were introduced by the Warsaw Pact in Budapest. Yet NATO has not yet given an answer to those proposals, nor has it given an answer to the recent Berlin initiative of the Warsaw Pact countries on the joint elaboration of exceptionally self-defensive military doctrines.

During his conversation with journalists in Moscow the other day, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke about the fact that the USSR will be taking further real steps to find a solution along the path toward disarmament. But it is necessary for our partners in the West to do something too, instead of just inventing ever-new demands addressed to us, trying our patience.

EAST BLOC REACTION TO CPSU PLENUM NOTED

PM291317 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jun 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS roundup: "Embodiment of New Thinking"]

[Excerpt] The results of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum are at the focus of world public attention. Foreign countries' statesmen, politicians, and public figures are commenting on them. The press carries highlights from M.S. Gorbachev's report and his concluding speech at the plenum and reports on the documents and resolutions adopted by the plenum participants. Commentaries are unanimous in emphasizing that the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum, in view of the scale and importance of the decisions adopted, will mark a historic milestone in the development of the Soviet society and the improvement and strengthening of socialism.

Prague [subhead]

The "Basic Provisions for the Radical Restructuring of Economic Management" approved by the CPSU Central Committee Plenum are a document which creatively develops Lenin's teaching on the building of socialism, Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic, has said. This document is of tremendous importance for the CPCZ and our entire society and boosts the implementation of the decisions adopted by the 17th CPCZ Congress. The thought that the forms of development of socialist society are not something rigidly established once and for all is of particular importance for us. The times are confronting us with new tasks to which we must respond creatively both in politics and in the economy.

Budapest [subhead]

The CPSU Central Committee June Plenum marks an important stage on the path of accelerating restructuring and implementing profound transformations in Soviet society. M.S. Gorbachev's report attracted enormous interest among Hungarians, said F. Cservenka, vice president of the Hungarian National Assembly. The significance of the changes which are currently taking place in the Soviet Union greatly transcends the boundaries of the USSR. We are witnessing how Soviet Communists are consistently tackling a radical reform of economic management and mobilizing the whole of society for the practical implementation of this program. The whole of this vast effort is geared to one important aim -- achieving a qualitatively new state of socialist society. This process is accompanied by a deep process of democratization, of the involvement of the broadest strata of the working people in the administration of the state and the solution of pressing tasks.

Sofia [subhead]

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum which was awaited with such interest in the world has demonstrated the party's innovative approach to the revolutionary cause of restructuring, ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME writes. It is through restructuring and renewal in all spheres of society's life that Soviet people are continuing the cause of Great October, whose 70th anniversary will be marked by all progressive mankind. The scale of the plenum's decisions reflects the fundamental turnaround in Soviet people's views of the economy today and provides a realistic outline of the new economic strategy. It is possible to claim with every justification that from the high rostrum of the Moscow party forum the USSR is looking into the 21st century. M.S. Gorbachev's report and concluding speech and the plenum discussion and documents focus the efforts of all Soviet society on the crux of restructuring -- the management of the economy.

Havana [subhead]

Despite pessimistic forecasts on the part of certain Western circles, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev came out resolutely in favor of further deepening the process of restructuring, a PRENSA LATINA commentary says. Those who acquainted themselves attentively with the plenum materials were able to see the that the Soviet leadership is confident of the correctness of its chosen course and, no matter what obstacles it encounters on the path of restructuring, it does not intend to stop, still less retreat, as some people were forecasting. Restructuring is gaining political and moral prestige among the masses.

Belgrade [subhead]

Reporting on the plenum results, BORBA writes: "The times when economic management was confined to issuing orders, bans, and exhortations are gone, never to return. On first acquaintance with M.S. Gorbachev's report is is possible to say that the USSR party leadership has not departed from the course it has elaborated."

Beijing [subhead]

"M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee," RENMIN RIBAO writes, "formulated the basic principles of the radical restructuring of the system of Soviet economic management and of the economic mechanism in his speech, emphasizing that it is essential to ensure that the reform is carried out in conditions of democratization. He believes that positive results have been achieved during the restructuring in the Soviet Union in many spheres. However, at the same time very many acute problems still remain." [passage omitted]

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON PEREZ DE CUELLAR'S VISIT

Talks With Shevardnadze

LD291720 Moscow TASS in English 1622 GMT 29 Jun 87

[Text] Moscow June 29 TASS -- Talks started in Moscow today between Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, foreign minister of the USSR, and Javier Perez de Cuellar, secretary-general of the United Nations.

The UN secretary-general is in the USSR on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Meets With Ukraine Officials

PM291517 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jun 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Guest of the Ukraine"]

[Text] Kiev, 28 Jun -- V.S. Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has met with UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar. During a friendly conversation she briefed the guest on the work of soviets of people's deputies in the restructuring of all spheres of society's life and deepening of democracy and openness.

J. Perez de Cuellar gave a high appraisal of the Ukrainian SSR's contribution to the work of the international community. He emphasized that the achievements of Soviet Ukraine provide an inspiring example for the developing countries. The guest noted that, just like many other people on the planet, he is attentively following the activities of the CPSU in the implementation of the 27th party congress decisions and the current changes in the USSR in the economic, social, and cultural spheres.

The secretary general denounced the attempts of the U.S. Administration to implement discriminatory measures against the United Nations, including measures against the Soviet mission

On the same day a conversation between the guest and Ukrainian Foreign Minister V.A. Kravtsov was held.

The UN secretary general met members of the commission which is organizing United Nations Year and International Year of Peace in the Ukrainian SSR. As a sign of recognition by the international community of the Ukrainian SSR's contribution to the struggle for the preservation and consolidation of peace and eradication of the nuclear threat J. Perez de Cuellar presented Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, chairman of the commission and deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, with a UN commemorative medal.

The guest laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Park of Eternal Glory. He inspected the "Ukrainian State Museum of the History of the 1941-1945 Great Patriotic War" memorial complex and signed the Visitors' Book.

Gorbachev Receives Perez de Cuellar

PM301102 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jun 87 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev's Meeting With J. Perez de Cuellar"]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev met with Javier Perez de Cuellar in the Kremlin 29 June.

Welcoming the United Nations secretary-general, Gorbachev expressed the Soviet Union's invariable respect for the UN's work. The organization had done much in the past and its role would be growing. The speculations that the UN was declining and losing face were totally unacceptable.

The world situation had changed over the past 40 years. More than a hundred new nations entered the international scene. The world was saturated with interests, and it was the task of tasks to find balance between them.

The UN, possessing immense experience, both successful and unsuccessful, was the best suitable body for that. Without achieving a balance of diverse interests there would be no stability in international relations.

The new situation was knocking at the UN doors. The organization, naturally, was looking for a qualitatively new role to play, difficult as it were.

Time is past when peace could be established by subordinating it to the interests of one or several powers. At present, even if something happened to a small nation, all were reacting. Nothing could be accomplished any longer without recognizing the right of all to choice, to sovereignty, to independent use of their resources and participation in international affairs.

This conclusion was organically included in a concept which the CPSU and the Soviet leadership had thoroughly thought out and were seeking to translate into policy for two years.

"Not everything has been accomplished. But we see it is evoking growing understanding and response in the world. We are convinced we have adopted a correct path which we are going to consistently follow."

Agreeing with his interlocutor's idea that the duties of the leaders of major countries included generating a new atmosphere in the world, Gorbachev recalled the concept of general security advanced by the 27th CPSU Congress, which comprised not only a military-political aspect but also economic, humanitarian and ecological aspects.

He also recalled the 15 January 1986 blueprint for a nuclear-free world, which had been a result of an indepth analysis and of becoming aware that the world had grown tired of being constantly under the threat of catastrophe, tired of confrontation, and needed a point of support for its hope for a way out of the dangerous situation.

"In that program we have defined the perspective. It specifies both the long-term aim and the phases to be covered on the way to it as well as the middle-term and immediate goals. We have developed our specific initiatives accordingly, inviting everyone to cooperation."

"We have suggested serious compromises and given our partners quite a few chances. This only serves to bear out that we are not playing politics and are not acting vigorously to catch somebody's fancy or make a propaganda gain, but are faithful to our peaceful line and realize that time may not be wasted any longer and that someone must set an example by action."

"We also realize that the clearer the outlines of possible agreements, for example those on medium-range missiles and chemical weapons, the greater resistance from militarist groups. But it is politicians' business to break it down. As for the economic aspect and the interests of nations, it is not only feasible but wholesome to get rid of dictates by the military element in industry."

The interlocutors agreed that science was now entering politics not only through military technology but also through social thinking by concerned scientists. It is a vast potential for peace, and constitutes the more competent part of world, public opinion. It is at the disposal of mankind and hence of the United Nations.

Gorbachev expressed gratitude to the U.N. secretary-general for his support to the Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing and reaffirmed that the USSR was prepared to resume the moratorium if it was joined by the United States.

He also reminded Perez de Cuellar of the "Group of Six"'s initiative and of the fact that the Soviet Union agreed to challenge inspections and was prepared even right now to send its representatives to full-scale talks on a ban on testing, during which it would also be possible to deal with the issue of ratifying the 1974 and 1976 treaties and take account of the U.S. Congress's ideas about reducing the yields and numbers of explosions.

Gorbachev explained the "key provisions" which had been discussed during George Shultz' visit to Moscow, pointing out that keeping arms out of space remained the Soviet Union's sine qua non condition. The United Nations is also called upon to play its role in this area because outer space is mankind's common property and caring for it is a direct duty of the world organization.

The problem of disarmament and development was discussed in detail. The position definitely taken by the Nonaligned Movement has become an important factor in the field. The Soviet Union is preparing new proposals on this problem which affects practically the whole world. What is needed is aboveboard and judicious cooperation rather than shirking the substance of the matter in a bid to preserve the mechanism of unequal exchanges and exploitation. To put off a solution means to make mankind face a very serious danger: A combustible material of great power comparable with the nuclear threat is fast being accumulated.

Perez de Cuellar expressed profound concern over the developments in the Persian Gulf, told the Soviet side about the intentions of the Security Council, his personal efforts, appealed to cooperation of the Soviet Union and the United States in the face of the threat of the war's expansion.

Mikhail Gorbachev confirmed the Soviet Union's interest that the conflict should not spread and that the long-drawn-out pointless Iran-Iraq war should finally be stopped. He told the United Nations secretary-general about the efforts taken by the Soviet Government. "We shall be acting with a sense of responsibility," he said. "Let us consider what we can do in the existing situation and what can be done by the Security Council."

When the Middle East crisis was discussed, the sides analysed problems and obstacles to the only possible mode of settlement, through an international conference with the participation of the permanent members of the Security Council and all the parties immediately concerned. A great degree of closeness of the approaches to the nature and tasks of the conference were noted. The entire process of settlement and its concluding stage should have a constructive nature, Mikhail Gorbachev said. Recrimination would be of no avail. What is needed are just solutions to all questions, taking into account the interests of both the Arabs and of Israel, and, of course, guarantees are also needed.

The Afghan problem was discussed. The efforts of the personal envoy of the United Nations secretary-general were commended. The interlocutors noted that the process of the settlement in both its internal and external aspects had started. Mikhail Gorbachev expressed the hope that it could yield a result not in the remote future but in the near future. "Our only wish is that Afghanistan should be a neutral and independent state friendly to the USSR and not a base for hostile activity threatening the security of neighbours," he said.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Perez de Cuellar expressed satisfaction with a friendly conversation which reaffirmed the existence of vast opportunities for interaction between the USSR and the United Nations Organization, the common concerns about peace and a profound realization of the responsibility for safeguarding it.

Eduard Shevardnadze took part in the conversation.

STATE DEPARTMENT HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY VIEWED

LD291422 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 29 Jun 87

["Provocations Under the Guise of Care" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow June 29 TASS -- A special subdivision on human rights issues was set up at the U.S. Department of State at the end of the 1970s. What it dealt with was not the issues of violations of the rights of American blacks, American Indians, people who come from Latin America, and other ethnic minorities, not the granting of equal rights to women, and not the many millions of jobless and homeless.

The bulletin "Arguments and Facts" of the Znaniye (knowledge) Society points out that the U.S. Department of State urgently sent people to all U.S. Embassies and, first of all, to those in socialist countries and then to the embassies in other countries to work as staff members in charge of human rights issues. Their duties included the gathering of data on violations of human rights in the host country, and to send them out to the Department of State and other federal departments of the United States.

A number of Americans were expelled from the U.S. Embassy in Moscow at the end of last year for activities incompatible with the diplomatic status.

At that time the U.S. Department of State decided "to kill two birds with one stone": to save money and to bring into play Cathleen Kavalek, the wife of a staff member of the culture and press section of the embassy, who was eager to work for the U.S. State Department, by appointing her to the position of staff member in charge of human rights issues in the USSR.

It would seem that in the conditions of the current reorganization process in Soviet society, broader democracy and openness, it would not be difficult for the American woman to work in the human rights field. But this was not the case.

Having apparently decided that "if there is no problem, it should be invented", Cathleen Kavalek got busy and met with those who, for considerations of keeping state and military secrets, were denied departure from the USSR for permanent residence in the United States and Israel, and who were prepared to denigrate the Soviet Union for an appropriate recompense.

Kavalek is not the only person at the U.S. Embassy to be "keen" on such activities. She is being "assisted", and zealously enough, by the embassy's first secretary, in particular.

The bulletin says that the U.S. Administration should give more thought to human rights in its own country, and not to look with the aid of its embassy staff for every kind of renegades, portraying them as the 'bearers of true moral, cultural and intellectual values'.

SHULTZ ADMITS LIES TOLD IN IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR

LD291235 Moscow TASS in English 1151 GMT 29 Jun 87

[Text] Washington June 29 June TASS -- U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz had a hard time yesterday during an interview with the "Meet the Press" program of the NBC television company. Journalists cornered him with questions about the unseemly role played by top-ranking officials of the Reagan administration, including those from the U.S. Department of State, in the Iran-contras affair.

Shultz tried to present the secret deal of the White House as an isolated affair. "What about the cover-ups? What about all top officials in your administration, some of your colleagues, lying to Congress, lying to each other?" the journalists kept asking. Shultz could not give a clear answer, only said that he had been lied to.

According to the testimony given at the hearings in Congress by Charles Cooper, U.S. assistant attorney general, a false version of developments in the Iran-contras affair was worked out late last year at a meeting in the White House. It was to be put forward at the Capitol Hill by the then CIA Director William Casey. Mary McGrory, a well-known American observer, pointed out that Cooper's testimony was such a striking evidence, that even those who were the least inclined to find out anything, were coming to realize that a lie was customary in the White House under Reagan.

U.S. CULTIVATING 'DEADLY' VIRUSES FOR MILITARY USE

PM261709 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Jun 87 Second Edition p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Markushin "Rejoinder": "Why Are They Cultivating Viruses?"]

[Text] The mass media have again drawn the attention of the world public to facts which illustrate that the Pentagon is stepping up its efforts in the sphere of biological weapons. America's CBS-TV in particular has reported the projected construction of a special chamber at the Dagway military range for testing "viruses of the most deadly diseases on earth."

As is well known, the AIDS epidemic is snowballing in the United States. And nevertheless, almost as if cocking a snook at this "20th century plague," the military department intends to cultivate new viruses capable of destroying masses of people. While concentrating their efforts on fighting one evil, at the same time they are artificially creating a new one, and allocating tens of millions of dollars to it. Since 1981 expenditure on biological research for military purposes has increased six times over -- from 14 to 90 million dollars. And this, as they say, is only the beginning.

Not only troops and the population can be the targets of biological weapons, according to to the specialists. Using pathogenic organisms it is possible to infect animals and plants on the very broadest scale -- that is, in this way appreciable losses can be inflicted on agriculture and on the opposing side's economy as a whole. Thus it is a means of biological sabotage without even entering into military conflict. In this sense the means on which the U.S. military laboratories are working are dreadful, insidious weapons.

PAPER NOTES EX-CIA MAN'S RETURN TO U.S.

PM191545 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Jun 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS correspondent V. Kikilo report: "A CIA Target for 12 Years"]

[Text] New York, 20 Jun -- "I have come back to prove that I was right from the very beginning. The 'Iran-contras' scandal is just a continuation of everything the CIA has been doing for the last 40 years," I was told by my interlocutor, a short and smart middle-aged man with hair showing just a touch of grey, and brown eyes that have a lively and piercing look. Of all people, a former CIA staffer who worked there for almost 12 years should know best the working methods of the espionage department in Langley, which played a key role in the secret arms for Iran operation.

This is Philip Agee's 2d week back in the motherland which he had not seen for 15 years. The normal way of returning to the United States is closed to him forever: Back in 1979 the State Department canceled his U.S. passport. Now he has taken a calculated risk and come to the United States with his wife as an "alien."

"Don't even think of coming back while the present administration is in power, my friends and attorneys told me," Agee said. Formal grounds for this still exist, he explained, since the statute of limitations does not apply to the relevant appendix to the law on espionage under which his case could be prosecuted. In 1975, 6 years after resigning from the CIA, Agee published the book "Inside the Company: CIA Diary," which had the effect of a bombshell. It was the first time that the veil of secrecy had been lifted from many secret subversive operations by the "cloak and dagger department" in Latin America, where Agee worked on "company" assignments, and elsewhere in the world. Since that day he has been the CIA's enemy No 1.

Events from this difficult period in Agee's life have provided the basis for his latest book, "On the Run," published a few days ago by Lyle Stuart Inc, a U.S. publishing house. But Agee did not return to the United States merely at his publisher's invitation. "I wanted to prove to myself that I could return to my own country without fear and to take part in political debates on the CIA's operations abroad, especially its role in the terrorist war against Nicaragua," he said. "I also want to call on Americans to take a firm and clear stance and join the protest movement against the policy of state terrorism pursued by the Reagan administration in Central America and primarily in Nicaragua."

NIKONOV RECEIVES U.S. BANKING OFFICIAL 27 JUNE

LD271259 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1153 GMT 27 Jun 87

[Text] Moscow, 27 Jun (TASS) -- Practical steps for establishing stable business ties between the USSR and the United States in the field of agricultural production were discussed today by Viktor Nikonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and CPSU Central committee secretary, and a representative of U.S. business circles, J. Crystal, president of the Iowa Bankers' Trust Corporation. It was emphasized that opportunites for expanding such mutually advantageous cooperation had significantly grown in connection with the restructuring currently taking place in the Soviet Union's agriculture. The CPSU Central Committee secretary received the president of the U.S. corporation at his own request.

PRC TRADE UNION DELEGATION BEGINS VISIT

PM231127 Moscow TRUD in Russian 23 Jun 87 p 3

[Unattributed report: "At the AUCCTU's Invitation"]

[Text] A delegation from China's trade union center headed by Zhang Fuyou, secretary of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, departed Beijing for Moscow 22 June. Prior to takeoff at the capital's Shoudu Airport, Zhang Fuyou told TRUD's correspondent:

"We gratefully accepted the AUCCTU's invitation to visit your remarkable country. We are pleased that the restored contacts between the PRC and the Soviet Union in various spheres, including contacts between our trade unions, are developing year by year. We hope that our trip to the USSR and the conversations and meetings with the AUCCTU leadership and with ordinary working people will serve to strengthen and further develop the traditional ties between our trade unions and to deepen mutual understanding. I would ask you to convey to the Soviet people, through your esteemed newspaper, the PRC trade unions' sincere wishes for new successes in your country's socioeconomic development."

The delegation from the All-China Federation of Trade Unions arrived in Moscow 22 June.

In addition to Moscow, during their stay in the USSR the Chinese trade union representatives will also travel to Tallinn, Minsk, and Kiev, visit industrial and agricultural enterprises, and familiarize themselves with the main avenues of Soviet trade unions' activity, their participation in the fulfillment of the 27th CPSU Congress decisions and in ensuring the acceleration of our country's socioeconomic development, and the organization of workers' and employees' labor, daily life, and leisure.

The delegation was met at the airport by AUCCTU Secretary V.N. Makeyev and other senior AUCCTU officials.

Shalayev Meets Visitors

PM251031 Moscow TRUD in Russian 24 Jun 87 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Talk with Delegation"]

[Text] AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev received a delegation from the All-China Trade Union Federation headed by its secretary Zhang Fuyou in the Palace of Labor 23 June.

During the talk information was exchanged on topical questions of the activity of Soviet and PRC trade unions and the improvement of their contribution to the fulfillment of the tasks of their countries' socioeconomic development. Mutual satisfaction was expressed at the restoration and development of ties between Soviet and Chinese trade unions, which wholly accord with the interests of Soviet and PRC working people.

S.A. Shalayev told the All-China Trade Union Federation delegation about Soviet trade unions' role in implementing the strategy of acceleration and about the way they are restructuring their work as defined by the 18th Trade Union Congress, and stressed the commonality of the tasks facing the two countries' trade unions in safeguarding working people's interests and defending world peace.

Zhang Fuyou noted the great importance of the restructuring and democratization of social life under way in the Soviet Union and the trade unions' extensive participation in this area, and wished Soviet working people new successes in socialist building.

V.N. Makeyev, secretary of the AUCCTU; and V.Ye. Sergeyev, chief of the AUCCTU Department for Ties with the Socilalist Countries' Trade Unions, took part in the talk.

The same day the Chinese trade union delegation laid wreaths at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

SOVIET-CHINESE BORDER TRADE INCREASES

OW281021 Moscow in Mandarin to China 1500 GMT 26 Jun 87

[Text] Listeners, a few years ago the Soviet Union and China resumed motor vehicle transportation through (Hordov,) a border town in Kazakhstan. A reporter of the Soviet KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA recently visited that border town. The following is his report:

The highways in this area are very good. The dark blue (Mazi) car we rode sped along an asphalt road. The side of our car read: Soviet Motor Vehicle Transportation Company. Our young driver (Machushenko) and I talked about our neighbor country to the south. He said: I have [words indistinct] cargo transportation for over 2 years, but I am still surprised by many things here. I am surprised by the local people's hardworking spirit. The local residents have always been good to us. Once, when our car got bogged down in a quagmire, they immediately came to help us. They drove a wrecker to the place and helped us get our car out.

Residents of (Bolang) Town are very interested in the Russian language. When our trucks were clearing necessary formalities and the goods were being checked at the [words indistinct] check point, we took time to chat with (Yeslinkov), chief customs officer of the checkpoint. He said: It has been increasingly prosperous here. Trucks full of goods come one after another to our checkpoint, and tourists have also traveled back and forth. Improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations has enabled regional trade to advance. Not long ago, trade ties between Kazakhstan and the Xinjiang Autonomous Region were resumed. Within the extent of regional trade, this year Kazakhstan will sell hundreds of thousand metric tons of chemical fertilizer to Chinese peasants, and residents of Kazakhstan will buy commodities from China very soon. This year, factories in Kazakhstan will export [?precision instruments], cameras, rubberized fabric, cloth, and cement [word inditinct] to China, currently, the volume of exports is not high. However, the most significant thing is that the first step in this area has been made. This trade will increase the mutual understanding between the Soviet and Chinese people. As the old saying goes, businessmen are the vanguard for diplomats.

WEINBERGER ARRIVES IN JAPAN FOR MILITARY TALKS

LD271352 Moscow TASS in English 1145 GMT 27 Jun 87

[Text] Tokyo June 27 TASS -- Caspar Weinberger, the U.S. defense secretary, today arrived in Japan for a three-day visit.

He will meet with Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, Foreign Minister Tadashi Kuranari, and hold talks with Yuko Kurihara, head of the National Defense Agency.

The sides will discuss ways for promoting bilateral contacts in the military field. The Pentagon chief is expected to put pressure on the Japanese side so as to make it buy American fighter planes and to demand that Tokyo toughen its approach to discriminatory restrictions on export to socialist countries introduced by the notorious coordinating committee on export controls.

Kalinin Commentary

OW261321 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 25 Jun 87

[Kalinin commentary]

[Text] As usual, Defense Secretary Weinberger's talks with his Japanese counterpart will center on issues concerning the strengthening of military cooperation between the two countries. Recently, Japan has come to play a more and more positive role in its military cooperation with the United States. Let us point out just a few examples:

The 1 percent-of-GNP ceiling on military expenditures, which had continued for over 10 years, has been lifted. There is no denying that the decision was influenced by pressure from the United States. Most likely also, an agreement will soon be signed officially on Japan's participation in the SDI. Moreover, Japan is expected to agree to all conditions put up by the U.S. side. The right to use the results of SDI-related research projects will go to the U.S. Government.

Recently Prime Minister Nakasone made a proposal to President Reagan to deploy 100 medium-range missiles in Alaska with the USSR as their target. This proposal conforms exactly with the U.S. plan aimed at strengthening its nuclear force in Asia. In addition, Japan has made remarkable efforts to promote its own military buildup.

A British business journal, FINANCIAL TIMES, reported recently that Japan has already become a military power despite its own constant denial. This denial does not come from the Japanese Government alone. While admitting that Japan's defense capability has already reached a very high level, the Pentagon denies that Japan has become a military power. While attempting to make the Japanese people and the peoples of other countries feel at ease, Defense Secretary Weinberger seems to be attempting to tie Japan more closely to U.S. strategic plans.

This point was noted in Secretary Weinberger's interview with MAINICHI SHIMBUN the other day. While asserting that Japan does not have any intention of becoming a military power, Secretary Weinberger expressed his hopes that Japan will continue to increase its military buildup in the future. Furthermore, he intends to pursue this principle during his visit of Japan.

Major topics to be brought up at the upcoming talks will probably concern the military and political situation in the world, particularly in the Far East. Undoubtedly one of the major topics for discussion will be the policies of the Soviet Union. Even now, it is quite apparent that Secretary Weinberger will take advantage of the upcoming talks to incite hostility against the USSR. This is clear from his interview with MAINICHI SHIMBUN. In this interview, Secretary Weinberger called on Japan to promote a military buildup while at the same time trying to frighten readers with the myth of a Soviet threat. Secretary Weinberger has frequently mentioned this myth, and it goes without saying that he will once again bring up this so-called threat at the upcoming talks in Tokyo.

Furthermore, according to a recent YOMIURI report, the issue of the exports to the USSR of the Toshiba Machinery Company will be brought up at the upcoming talks, and the company will become the focus of the unfounded criticism of Defense Secretary Weinberger. Using this pretext, he will demand that Japan set more severe restrictions on trade with the USSR and other socialist countries. This demand for more severe restrictions on trade with the USSR is not prompted only by an anti-Soviet objective. It should never be forgotten that in making such a demand, the United States also attempts to annoy Japan, its economic rival.

This U.S. objective becomes clear when we take into account the U.S. attitude on selection of the next-generation support aircraft to be used by the Air Self-Defense Force. This issue will also become one of the major topics for discussion at Secretary Weinberger's talks in Tokyo. Japan's five major arms manufacturers, including Mitsubishi Heavy Industries Company, have announced their own plan to develop the next-generation support fighter aircraft. However, the United States, Japan's rival, has indicated its disapproval of the project. Under the pretext of interoperability, the United States is attempting to force Japan to procure either F-16's or F-18's, fighter planes manufactured in the United States.

Thus, various issues covering a broad range will be brought up for discussion at the upcoming talks with Weinberger, the U.S. defense secretary. In this connection, it will be hard to judge whether the talks will end in success or failure since the issues are very complicated. Nevertheless, it can be said definitely that if the talks are carried on in accordance with Secretary Weinberger's expectations, Japan will be further drawn into the dangerous direction of a military buildup, its dependence on the United States will be further intensified, and the situation in the Far East will be further aggravated.

CHON TU-HWAN MEETS WITH OPPOSITION LEADER

LD240950 Moscow TASS in English 0720 GMT 24 Jun 87

[Text] Tokyo June 24 TASS -- South Korean dictator Chon Tu-hwan met with opposition leader Kim Yong-sam at his "Blue House" residence early today.

The regime had to hold talks with the opposition after the authorities had failed to suppress antigovernment protests, continuing for two weeks now. Kim Yong-sam demanded the immediate release of political prisoners, the resumption of talks with the opposition on a reform of South Korea's education system and the holding of a referendum on this issue. To bring down the wave of protests, press reports, the authorities will release from house arrest another opposition leader Kim Tae-chung. However, according to official figures released by police, more than 12,000 people have been jailed since June 10 when protests against the Chon Tu-hwan regime started.

'HYPOCRITICAL' U.S. APPEALS TO S. KOREA VIEWED

LD270315 Moscow TASS in English 0231 GMT 27 Jun 87

[Text] Moscow June 26 TASS -- TASS political observer Askold Biryukov reports:

South Korean Dictator Chon Tu-hwan cast aside today the insignificant concession made at his meeting with the opposition leader Kim Yong-sam and brought the full weight of punitive sanctions to bear on the opposition and the forces that support it. Kim Tae-chung, one of the leaders of the opposition, was again put under house arrest, Kim Yong-sam and other opposition leaders, as well as hundreds of activists of the movement for the overthrow of the dictatorial regime and the implementation of democratic reforms were arrested.

Some 60,000 policemen specially trained to "suppress unrest" were dispatched today to the streets of Seoul and other cities. Their task was to disperse a massive peace march for democracy held by the opposition and broad sections of the population that support it.

Despite the peaceful objectives of the march, it was described by the authorities as "illegal" and "subversive". This permitted security forces to use all the means at their disposal for dispersing it. People were beaten up indiscriminately. Dozens of buses were filled with detainees.

The impression is that the Seoul authorities decided to use today's developments as a pretext for taking extraordinary measures, imposing martial law and severely dealing with the popular movement which assumed a nationwide character. The dictator has long come to realize the hypocritical nature of Washington's appeals not to "go to extremes" with regard to the opposition forces, as well as of its calls for the continuation of a "dialogue" and a quest for "compromise" with the opposition. Apart from it, the Seoul government knows full well that the U.S. Administration will not leave its South Korean placemen to their own devices.

It is this stand of Washington that permitted Chon Tu-hwan to resort to rigorous measures against dissidents. They were also promoted by the warnings continually coming from Washington about the "threat from the north" which are to justify political manoeuvering aimed at preserving the present-day regime in South Korea.

There is hardly anyone in the U.S. who believes today in the inventions about the "threat from the north". NBC correspondent Ann Garrels stated point-blank in one of her reports that in the opinion of the U.S. political circles the main threat for South Korea was not coming from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It is the internal political situation and the activization of the opposition forces that pose a threat to the South Korean regime.

Speaking at a rally in Pyongyang Thursday on the occasion of the 37th annniversary of the beginning of the U.S. aggression against Korea, Chong Chun-ki, deputy premier of the administrative council of the DPRK, said that no matter what kind of a situation took shape in South Korea, the DPRK was not going to attack it. He pointed out that it is a policy of stepping up military preparations pursued by Washington and Seoul that was the main cause of tension in the Korean peninsula.

SHULTZ, WEINBERGER HOLD TALKS IN AUSTRALIA

OW261041 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2235 GMT 23 Jun 87

[Viktor Konnov commentary; from the Novosti newscast]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State Shultz and U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger are in Australia. Our commentary:

[Konnov] Hello comrades. The main reason for the visit to Australia concerns the U.S. military presence in this part of the world. Recently, this question is causing Washington increased concern, which is hardly surprising. Last year member countries of the South Pacific Forum, with Australia's participation, reached an agreement on the formation of a nuclear-free zone in the southern part of the Pacific. New Zealand has banned the entry into its ports of ships carrying nuclear weapons. In the Philippines, in one way or another, the future of the U.S. military bases at Clark and Subic Bay is under question.

During the current visit, U.S. Secretary of State Shultz, with patent dissatisfaction and irritability, spoke about all these initiatives of the South Pacific countries. When you are proclaiming more and more places nuclear-free zones, you deprive yourself of the capability to check aggression and prevent war, Shultz said. The idea which governs our actions around the world consists of the premise that the presence of U.S. military forces in a given region is seen as a contribution to the cause of preserving stability in that part of the planet. This is literally what the head of the U.S. delegation said before arriving in Australia. A strange, perverted form of logic: The more nuclear-free zones, the less there is of security; the more U.S. forces, the more peace and stability.

But this form of logic on the part of the U.S. secretary of state is merely a reflection of the U.S. Administration's global doctrine of nuclear deterrent or threat. Consistent with this, the greater the amount of nuclear weapons, supposedly, the more security there is on earth.

It appears that the new thinking of the nuclear era is, with a great deal of difficulty, finding its way into the brains of the high-ranking officials of the U.S. Administration.

Aim To Influence Election

PM251741 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jun 87 Second Edition p 5

[A. Ivkin report: "Australia-United States: Visits with a Purpose"]

[Text] 22 Jun -- Secretary of State Shultz and Defense Secretary Weinberger are visiting Australia. They are holding talks with the Australian leadership on the state of bilateral relations.

Observers note that the timing of the high-ranking U.S. Administration representatives' visit to the Fifth Continent is no coincidence. Parliamentary elections are planned in Australia in the near future. Australia's foreign policy will be determined by the election outcome. It is not impossible that the new Australian government will beef up the policy of creating nuclear-free zones in the South Pacific. [paragraph continues]

Such a development would not please the White House administration, and it does not want anyone to follow the "bad example" set by New Zealand, whose antinuclear policy is enshrined in law. Washington is also alarmed by the fact that, at the recent ASEAN meeting in Singapore, Canberra was sympathetic to the member countries' intention to continue working on a treaty to establish a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia.

A further factor suggesting that the timing of the visit was meant to coincide with the approaching Australian elections is the fact that the foreign policy platform of the parties in opposition to Labor (the Liberal and National parties) declares support for the U.S. "Star Wars" program and reiterates Washington's thesis on "Soviet expansion" in the region.

DEMICHEV RECEIVES BURMESE PARLIAMENTARIANS

PM251453 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jun 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meetings With Delegations"]

[Text] P.N. Demichev has received a Burmese National Assembly delegation led by U. Gaytano [name as transliterated], member of the assembly's Council of Chairmen.

There was an exchange of opinions on bilateral Soviet-Burmese relations and also a number of topical international problems.

It was stressed that the profound restructuring of all aspects of Soviet society's life developing in the Soviet Union is aimed at accelerating the state's socioeconomic development and utilizing all the potential of socialist society.

Dwelling on international questions, P.N. Demichev stressed that the 27th CPSU Congress decisions, M.S. Gorbachev's 15 January 1986 statement, and the Delhi declaration lay the foundations of the new political thinking in the sphere of foreign policy. Reminding the parliamentarians of the peaceful initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries recently, he stressed that, given the goodwill of other countries, they could help to produce a fundamental breakthrough in the development of the international situation, stop the arms race, and avert the threat of nuclear war.

The development of traditional parliamentary links between the Soviet Union and Burma will help further deepen friendly relations between the peoples of the two countries.

U. Gaytano expressed satisfaction with the results of the delegation's visit to the USSR. He expressed the wish that Burmese-Soviet relations will strengthen and expand.

U.S. ACTIVITIES IN MIDDLE EAST QUESTIONED

LD250016 Moscow World Service in English 2010 GMT 24 Jun 87

[Text] Officials in Washington say the administration is going to link its consent to Soviet participation in an international Middle East conference with a number of qualifications. Here's comment by Viktor Ivanov who writes:

A State Department spokesman, Phyllis Oakley, recently said any Soviet role in the peace process must be linked with a demonstration of constructive Soviet behavior. Her colleague, who wanted to remain unidentified, said the Soviets have not earned their ticket of admission to such a conference.

These statements cannot but surprise given the fact that it's the Soviet Union, not the United States, that pioneered the idea of holding an international conference to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict. Until recently, American politicians have pulled wry faces of someone suffering from toothache whenever this conference was mentioned. Strangely enough, today they're claiming to have the right to distribute admission tickets.

By accusing the USSR of misbehavior in the Middle East, Washington might refer to the Soviet support of the Arabs demanding that Israel pull out of the land seized in 1967 and let the Palestinians exercise their right to self-determination and form an independent state. Washington ignored the fact that the Soviet approach is shared by both the Arab world and the overwhelming majority of nations elsewhere. Instead it proposes that Arabs sign separate deals with its strategic ally, Israel, which in this case would continue with its hegemonic policies. The United States is staking on a military solution of Middle East problems.

As for America's behavior in the region, it has been vividly illustrated by the Irangate scandal. The secret arms sales to Iran indicate the United States Administration willingly abandons international legal norms as well as its own promises and declarations in order to reach its selfish ends. The administration has proved again it is pursuing a false bottom policy towards the crisis, formally striving for a peaceful solution and effectively worsening the conflict.

The American activities in the Gulf, the seat of the conflict, are also evoking great international concern. The Pentagon has sent a large naval force there saying it would use it if it finds America's vital interests are being threatened. In contrast to the efforts taken by the Soviet Union and many other countries to find a political solution of the conflict, Washington is making another show of military muscle. In recent years, that muscle could be seen in action in Lebanon, the American bombing raids against Libya, and other acts of violence.

While alleging, contrary to good sense, that the Soviet Union behaves badly in the Middle East, Washington is going on with its pragmatically motivated policies there. It's trying to justify the most unseemly means by the glorious goals they are supposed to serve. In fact, the American aim is to prevent an international conference on the Middle East by accusing the Soviet Union of misbehaving in the region.

U.S. BEEFS UP GULF FORCES, LOOKS FOR 'PRETEXT'

OW261045 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1045 GMT 24 Jun 87

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Dmitriy Biryukov]

[Text] Reports from Washington, unfortunately, attest to the growing military threat in the explosive Persian Gulf region. On Tuesday, President Reagan held a meeting in the White House Oval Office with a group of congressmen. The question of U.S. policy and specific actions in the Persian Gulf were discussed.

According to Marlin Fitzwater, presidential press spokesman, many members of both houses of Congress, both Democrats and Republicans, are seriously alarmed by the fact that the U.S. Administration is practically increasing the U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf without Congressional sanction. This is demonstrated by the reports from Cairo. Last night two U .S. naval frigates and a minesweeper arrived in Port Said. Today they will pass through the Suez Canal and join U.S. ships already cruising in the Persian Gulf.

Progressive circles and the public in a number of Arab countries warn that the United States is aspiring to establish its supremacy in this part of the globe under the guise of ensuring the safety of navigation. Personally I would add that talks about the safety of navigation is simply a pretext for Washington. After all, strategic reserves of oil and other important natural resources are found in this part of the world, and the United States needs to have a powerful military force there so that in case of need it can overthrow objectionable regimes and substitute them with regimes subservient to the White House. In this specific situation, the dangerous threats by U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger -- to carry out a preventive strike against Iran -- deserve attention.

The practice of recent years has shown that the White House knows how to find pretexts, provocative pretexts, for interfering into the affairs of other countries. Weinberger declared that the United States may take active steps if any actions of Iran are assessed by the White House as being of hostile intent -- an extremely flexible statement.

REAGAN'S GULF MOVES DRAW CONGRESSIONAL CRITICISM

PM271231 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Jun 87 p 3

[TASS report: "Gathering Forces"]

[Text] Washington, 25 Jun -- The U.S. destroyer "Kidd" and two frigates have passed through the Suez Canal and are heading for the Persian Gulf. They will reinforce the group of five U.S. naval vessels which are already there, a spokesman for the Pentagon has said. However, he declined to either confirm or deny earlier reports that Washington also intends to send the battleship "Missouri" there.

Les Aspin, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, has criticized the buildup of the U.S. military presence in one of the planet's "flashpoints." He emphasized that the operations of the U.S. Navy in the Persian Gulf are leading to a further intensification of tension in the area and confront the United States with the threat of being drawn into a large-scale military conflict.

Addressing a session of a special group of Democratic congressmen, experts on Near East problems noted the urgent need to abandon the dangerous White House plans in the Persian Gulf.

U.S., WESTERN SERVICES AID AFGHAN TERROR ACTS

PM271249 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jun 87 Morning Edition p 5

[V. Krotov article: "Stingers to Iran, Mines in the Koran"]

[Text] The United States has secretly supplied Iran with Stinger antiaircraft missiles. This happened at the very time hearings were in progress in the U.S. Congress in connection with "Irangate," a major political scandal which has been shaking the Reagan administration since last November.

The deliveries of Stingers, as it turns out, were effected not directly but through middlemen, a role played by Afghan dushman leaders. A few weeks ago, in May, one of the leaders of the dushman gang forming part of Yunis Khalis' grouping -- Fakir Ulla [name as transliterated] -- concluded with representatives of the Iranian corps of "Islamic Revolution Guards" a secret deal concerning the sale to the Iranians of consignment of U.S. Stinger missiles which had arrived from the United States. In Farahta [name as transliterated] on the Iran-Afghan border 37 such missile installations were handed over to Iranian representatives for a "round sum" in cash, and the delivery of an even larger consignment of missiles and other military materiel via this "invisible" channel was arranged. At least two U.S. consultant-advisers who passed on their recommendations on the most effective methods of employing the missiles were there as observers overseeing the transaction.

U.S. military advisers and combat operations specialists from other Western countries have become frequent "quests" of the most frenzied opponents of people's power in the DRA -- the leaders of the dushmen gangs. In the first quarter of this year the presence of 148 U.S., British, French, and FRG nationals on the country's territory was registered. Of these, 107 were military advisers; 25 worked for the CIA, Britain's SIS, the West German BND, and other Western special services; 8 instructors in the use of modern missile complexes; and even 8 specialists in "psychological warfare" and propaganda.

The sinister role of these advisers -- specialists in "secret operations" against a sovereign country and its people -- is becoming increasingly obvious. Practically not a single day goes by somewhere in the peaceful settlements and villages of the Afghan countryside without children and adolescents being blown up by booby traps manufactured in "special" laboratories in the United States, Italy, and Britain; without dozens of peaceful inhabitants falling victim to the missiles and rocket projectiles launched on the recommendations of Western experts.

Here are some lines from recent reports from various regions of Afghanistan.

Baghlan Province: Mortar shelling of villages. Five children dead, two wounded. Recurrent shelling over a few days: one child killed, two wounded.

Balkh Province: Rocket projectile launched at column of pupils from a local lycee. Thirty-nine pupils killed and wounded by the explosion.

Ghazni Province: Fourteen missiles launched against a town. One child killed, two wounded; two women also wounded.

At a stadium in Lashkar Gah dushman terrorists exploded a mine by remote control. Sixteen people wounded.

In Chahar Asiab county a car was blown up by a mine of Italian manufacture. The driver and two of his sons were severely wounded.

Qandahar Province: The acting chairman of the National Reconciliation Commission was shot point-blank from a silenced pistol stamped "Made in USA." Three days later a deputy of the provincial jirga, the well known religious figure Mawlawi Kh.M. Nabi was villanously killed in similar circumstances during evening prayers.

In Kabul a magnetic mine of U.S. manufacture exploded in a tourist bus at the entrance to the Kabul Hotel. Fortunately nobody was hurt. The infernal machine went off 3 minutes after sportsmen from Mongolia, the DPRK, the GDR, Cuba, and Bulgaria, who had been participating in international competitions in the Afghan capital, had left the bus.

The terrorist acts against Afghan citizens and institutions and the shelling of peaceful towns and settlements are completely coordinated and premeditated. The aim of these actions is to exert a moral and psychological influence on the DRA's population, to destabilize the economic situation in the country, and to prevent the realization of the national reconciliation program. Amalgamated groups of Western experts in Miram Shah in Pakistan are also preoccupied with precisely these questions of "settling the regional conflict in Afghanistan" with the help of terror. In the first quarter of this year alone representatives of the United States, France, the FRG, Pakistan, and certain other states conducted eight coordination conferences with the leaders of dushman gangs and associations, following which there was a marked increase in the frequency of underhand killings, the detonation of infernal devices camouflaged sometimes as dolls, children's building blocks, and even as the holy Koran, and the shelling of DRA towns and villages with rockets.

And so, Stingers to Iran, one of the participants in a bloody and senseless war which has now been in progress for almost 8 years; weapons, money, and other "aid" to the Afghan dushmans, in order to frustrate the national reconciliation effort in Afghanistan -- such are the methods used by the Washington protectors of the "rights of man."

PAKISTAN, U.S. CITED IN AFGHAN 'INTERFERENCE'

LD261304 Moscow TASS in English 0651 GMT 26 Jun 87

[Text] Kabul June 25 TASS -- TASS Correspondent German Baykov reports:

At a press conference held here journalists from developing countries were shown Stinger and Blowpipe anti-aircraft missiles, missile launchers, recoilless guns, large-calibre machine-guns, mines of various types, including booby traps, as well as firearms. In all journalists saw a whole set of death-carrying weapons produced in the West that are used by Afghan counterrevolutionaries.

Sarvar Yuresh, general president of the committee of [words indistinct] said that armed interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, especially on the part of Pakistan, had intensified since the proclamation of the national reconciliation policy. Since the beginning of the current year Pakistani planes have violated the air space of Afghanistan 28 times. A transport plane was brought down by Stinger missiles on February 9, which claimed the lives of 36 passengers. Forty passengers on an AN-26 plane were also killed when the plane was brought down by a missile fired from a Pakistani F-16 fighter plane. Another AN-26 plane was brought down by a Stinger missile on June 11. 49 people died in the air crash.

Lieutenant General Azimi, deputy defense minister of Afghanistan, said that the U.S. was increasing from one year to the next its money handouts to Afghan counterrevolutionaries. Modern weapons are delivered to them from the West in a steady flow. He said that according to the existing information, 80 U.S. advisers, specialists in the use of Stinger missiles, had come to Pakistan to train counterrevolutionaries.

IRAN CONTINUES 'UNDECLARED WAR' AGAINST DRA

LD251158 Moscow TASS in English 1135 GMT 25 Jun 87

[Text] Kabul June 25 TASS -- The other day television and radio of the Islamic Republic of Iran reported a meeting between Iranian President Khamene'i and chieftains of Afghan counter-revolutionary organizations where he fully approved their activities spearheaded at frustrating the process of national reconciliation in Afghanistan.

Attempts by the Iranian leadership to remove the existing differences between various dushman groups and to establish an anti-Afghan coalition cannot be assessed otherwise but a continuation of Iran's interference in the domestic affairs of Afghanistan and violation of the rules of international law, says a statement by the BAKHTAR news agency. The drilling of counter-revolutionaries at camps in Iran, logistical support and recruitment of gangs are also aimed at establishing a united front of dushmans.

The call for national reconciliation, the statement points out, was enthusiastically acclaimed by compatriots both inside and outside the country. Many dozen thousands of Afghan citizens returned from abroad. Thousands of enemies of people's power stopped armed resistance. But despite this fact, the forces of imperialism and reaction continue enlarging the scale of the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, crudely interfering in the home affairs of the sovereign state.

The Afghan people, the BAKHTAR agency points out, demand that the Iranian Government stop anti-Afghan activities and conduct a policy conforming to the interests and aspirations of the fraternal Iranian people.

ZIMBABWE'S MUGABE ARRIVES, MEETS WITH OFFICIALS

LD251933 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Jun 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Robert Gabriel Mugabe, president and first secretary of the Zimbabwe African National Union [ZANU] and the ZANU Patriotic Front, and prime minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe, who is the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, arrived in Moscow today in connection with the World Women's Congress underway here. He is accompanied by Mangwende, Zimbabwean minister of foreign affairs.

Robert Mugabe and his entourage were met at the airport by Comrade Dobrynin and other officials. In the welcoming party was Ndanga, Zimbabwean ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Meets With Gorbachev

PM291045 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jun 87 Second Edition p 1

["M.S. Gorbachev's Meeting With R. Mugabe"]

[Text] On 27 June Mikhail Gorbachev met Robert Mugabe, president and first secretary of the party Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front, prime minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe, who, as chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, was an honorary guest of the World Women's Congress which was held in Moscow.

During the talk the sides expressed satisfaction with the development of bilateral relations which have attained a still more full-blooded and friendly nature after the visit by Robert Mugabe to the Soviet Union in December 1985. Contacts are being developed along party lines, and ways are being mapped out to improve cooperation in the economy and other spheres.

The Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out, is committed to such principles as equality, mutual advantage, independence and respect for a way of development chosen by a nation. These principles are also being fully translated into life in relations between the USSR and Zimbabwe. All of this points to the fact that our cooperation has good prospects.

Speaking of international affairs, Robert Mugabe noted that a tense and explosive situation persisted in the south of Africa. This is due to the fact that the apartheid regime in South Africa is stepping up reprisals against the country's native population and is pursuing the strategic line for destabilizing the Frontline States, putting armed pressure on them and interfering in their domestic affairs.

Mikhail Gorbachev denounced the actions by the United States and other western countries backing the South African racist regime. They seek to preserve it to hold control over African peoples and use their wealth in their interests. The Soviet Union has been invariably siding with the peoples of the Frontline States and other African countries which took the road of independent and progressive development.

Robert Mugabe dealt with some pressing questions of the Nonaligned Movement, which seeks to make its contribution to tackling such important tasks as an end to the arms race and disarmament, a political settlement in Central America and the Middle East, an end to the Iran-Iraq war and establishment of a new economic order.

Mikhail Gorbachev noted that the Nonaligned Movement was an important and positive factor in world politics. The Soviet Union hails this and invariably takes into account the lawful interests of the developing countries in its foreign policy activities. As for world economic relations, nobody should act in such a way as to destroy them. But it is possible and necessary to change their nature on a just basis. Such a line of reasoning is quite logical. It is unjust when the major capitalist states seek to maintain their high living standards at the expense of the unfair exchange with the developing countries.

As for the Soviet approach to the questions of ending the arms race and disarmament, it is well known. We are for the development of the process started in Reykjavik and for a radical reduction in strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States while observing the ABM Treaty and opposing space militarization. Schemes of the U.S. Administration for getting a military superiority by implementing SDI run counter to this approach. These are illusory and dangerous schemes.

The course of the current negotiations on medium-range missiles showed that neither the United States, nor some of its NATO allies which proclaimed commitment to the "zero option," thought seriously about it. This is the explanation for various barriers raised in the way of resolving the question. Nevertheless, there is an opportunity for reaching an understanding. On our part, the Soviet Union is doing its utmost for this purpose.

Despite the opposition of the imperialist powers, the trend for disarmament is developing more clearly in the world. It is growing in strength and scope. The socialist countries, the Nonaligned Movement and all progressive forces of our times come out in defense of peace. Besides, understanding of the interrelation between disarmament and the solution of urgent social and economic issues is growing in the capitalist countries too. In a word, there are forces in the world, capable of swinging the development of the situation in the international arena to disarmament and detente.

The meeting was held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and confidence and confirmed concurrence of views and approaches to all issues under discussion.

Mikhail Gorbachev conveyed wishes of success and prosperity to the Zimbabwean people.

Interviewed by Moscow TV

LD282120 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1330 GMT 28 Jun 87

[Interview with Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe by unidentified correspondent in Moscow; date not given -- recorded; in English with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, comrades and friends. I have been in Moscow at the invitation of the WIDF [International Democratic Federation of Women] whose congress examined the issue of destroying nuclear weapons by the year 2000, in order that we should live in the future without any fear of nuclear war. In my capacity both as prime minister and as chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, it was a pleasure for me to accept the invitation. I addressed the congress on its final day and the impression I have is, above all, one of complete commitment on the part of the women under the aegis and in the framework of the WIDF to continue their campaign to destroy nuclear armaments.

I am extremely inspired by the good impressions with which I am returning, and I am also taking with me real inspiration to render assistance to the campaign for nuclear disarmament underway both in the framework of the Nonaligned Movement and in southern Africa. But the opportunity of my being here has also enabled me to meet with General Secretary Gorbahcev -- a meeting which, like our last one, lasted for 3 hours. We discussed various issues. On my side, I briefly informed the general secretary of our point of view on bilateral relations, on how they are developing between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Zimbabwe in various fields at the party level and at the level of interstate relations. I then informed him about the situation evolving in southern Africa and expressed gratitude for the role the Soviet Union is playing in guaranteeing its support for the Frontline States and thereby enabling us to become more secure and consolidated. As for the Nonaligned Movement as a whole, I told him what was done during the last summit meeting in Harare, in September of last year. I mean the various sessions we had, as well as our attempts within the Nonaligned Movement to ensure progress in the peace process, especially in respect of areas of regional conflict.

Comrade Gorbachev assured me that the Soviet Union is fully committed to the process of conslidation of the Nonaligned Movement and the development of Soviet-Zimbabwean relations, and would exert maximum effort to render assistance to this process, both at the level of relations between parties and the level of interstate relations in various fields.

He also reacted to the information I gave him on the situation which has evolved in Africa and he assured us that the Soviet Union is committed to the idea of a guarantee of our sovereignty and independence, in order that our independence and sovereignty may remain unvarying. Comrade Gorbachev invited me to take part in celebrations to mark the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, and I, for my part, invited him, or rather reiterated the invitation I had made back in 1985.

[Correspondent] Comrade Prime Minister, it's almost a year since the last summit meeting. I was involved in covering the Harare summit and attended the press conference that was held there. Would you mind saying what the nonaligned countries have done since the summit, particularly in the sphere of disarmament and international security.

[Mugabe] As far as disarmament issues are concerned, one needs to recall that the first point in our decisions and statements adopted at the summit meetings in Harare was a call for disarmament. Immediately after the conference closed, we got down to work connected with this call which had been issued at the summit meetings in Harare. We submitted the appeal adopted in Harare, which urgently called on the two superpowers to work out a concrete program in the sphere of nuclear disarmament and to commence this work with a moratorium, for consideration by the two sides. And we received replies, but different replies. On the one hand, as far as the reply from Comrade Gorbachev was concerned, it was satisfactory. But, on the other hand, the reply from the United States was unsatisfactory, although it did leave open a certain hope, a recognition that the principles of disarmament are unvarying principles worth supporting. Regrettably, at that time the United States failed to support the unilateral moratorium proclaimed by the Soviet Union. And so we submitted the appeal adopted at Harare for consideration by the two sides.

[Correspondent] And in this respect what is your assessment of the Soviet initiatives in the disarmment sphere, in particular the latest ones: I have in mind the double zero option to eliminate medium-range missiles in Europe?

[Mugabe] As I have already said in my statement this morning at the Congress, I applaud the steps which have been taken by the Soviet Union. And during our meeting with Comrade Gorbachev I stressed that we welcome the fact that the Soviet Union is constantly coming out with these initiatives. It is regrettable, however, that the replies of the opposite side are not as positive. Recently President Reagan could be heard confirming the double zero option too, declaring that the United States had long since proposed it and that the Soviet Union had taken in the proposal later.

But irrespective of who put forward the initiative, what is important is that a process must exist which should lead to the destruction of medium-range missiles, with a simultaneous guarantee that at least some steps will be taken, which in the future will lead to disarmament. And then people can proceed to the long-range missile nuclear ban."

Replying to a question about a ban on nuclear weapons testing, Mugabe said: We have always backed the idea of concluding a treaty on banning nuclear weapons testing. And one can hope that this principle will be unvaryingly supported, and that we shall receive a positive reply from the West. And I support this. I can assure you that the positive thinking which the Soviet Union displays in the context of this process is acknowledged by the Soviet Union's friends, friends like us. Even in the capitalist countries, however, ordinary people are beginning to understand that the Soviet Union is sincere in its intentions, that it really supports nuclear disarmament. If I am not mistaken, a public opinion poll conducted in London recently showed that Comrade Gorbachev was regarded as a man who sincerely desires peace, something which cannot be said of the U.S. President. And this was said in a capitalist country.

Seen Off By Dobrynin

PM291045 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jun 87 Second Edition p 4

[Text] Robert Gabriel Mugabe, president and first secretary of the Zimbabwe African National Union -- Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), and prime minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe, who is chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, left the USSR today. He was in Moscow in connection with the World Congress of Women which was held here. W. Mangwende, the foreign minister of Zimbabwe, left with him.

R. Mugabe and the officials accompanying him were seen off at the airport by Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; V.M. Kamentsev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; A.L. Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister; A.Yu. Urnov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department.

ANTICHOLERA VACCINATION SUPPLIES DONATED TO ANGOLA

PM241543 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jun 87 First Edition p 4

[Own correspodent M. Zenovich dispatch: "Vaccine Delivered"]

[Text] Luanda, 19 Jun -- Some 900,000 doses of anticholera vaccine and the requisite number of needleless injectors were delivered here today from Moscow by an Aeroflot flight as a gift of the Soviet Government.

Cholera outbreaks have now been noted in the Zaire, Luanda, and Bengo [as published] Provinces. According to official data, approximately 2,000 cases have been registered, 10 percent of them with a fatal outcome. Health care organs are carrying out mass vaccination of the population.

POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH GHANA

PM250947 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jun 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the rubric "From the IZVESTIYA Teletype Room": "Consultations Envisaged"]

[Text] Accra, 20 Jun -- A protocol on political consultations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Fhana has been signed here. The protocol, which was signed by A.L. Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, and Mohamed Ibn Chambass, Ghanaian deputy secretary for foreign affairs, creates a specific mechanism for cooperation in the foreign policy sphere between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Ghana, which has chosen a path of progressive development.

PRAVDA NOTES APPOINTMENT OF NEW AMBASSADOR TO TOGO

PM250848 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jun 87 Second Edition p 6

[Unattributed "Chronicle" report]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Comrade Yuriy Mikhaylovich Kotov USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Togo.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Comrade Sergey Danilovich Shaverdyan from his duties as USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Togo in connection with his transfer to other work.

PRAVDA REPORTS HUNGARIAN LEADERSHIP CHANGES

PM271337 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jun 87 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Cadre Shifts In Hungary"]

[Text] Budapest, 25 June -- As MTI reports, an MSZMP Central Committee Plenum held here has adopted decisions on organizational questions.

The plenum relieved K. Nemeth of his duties as MSZMP deputy general secretary. G. Lazar was elected MSZMP deputy general secretary.

P. Losonczi and I. Sarlos were relieved of their duties as members of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo. F. Havasi and I. Horvath were relieved of their duties as secretaries of the MSZMP Central Committee in connection with their transfer to other work.

J. Berecz and J. Csehak were elected members of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo, and G. Fejti, J. Lukacs, and M. Nemeth were elected secretaries of the MSZMP Central Committee.

A session of the Hungarian National Assembly which opened here today adopted the recommendations of the MSZMP Central Committee and the Presidium of the All-Hungarian Council of the Patriotic People's Front on cadre questions.

In connection with his retirement on a pension, P. Losonczi was relieved of his duties as president of the Hungarian People's Republic Presidential Council. K. Nemeth was elected president of the Hungarian People's Republic Presidential Council.

G. Lazar, who has been elected MSZMP deputy general secretary, was relieved of his duties as chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. K. Grosz, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo, has become chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers.

PRESIDIUM CONGRATULATES NEMETH ON PRESIDENCY

PM271313 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jun 87 Second Edition p 5

[USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Congratulates Karoly Nemeth on election as Hungarian president]

[Text] To Comrade Karoly Nemeth, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Esteemed Comrade Karoly Nemeth!

Accept our cordial congratulations on the occasion of your election as president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic.

We wish you great success in your work in the high post of head of state and in implementing the 13th MSZMP Congress decisions.

We are firmly convinced that the fraternal friendship, close cohesion, and fruitful cooperation existing between the Soviet Union and Hungary will continue to strengthen and develop for the good of our peoples and the entire socialist community and in the interests of strengthening peace and international security.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS CONGRATULATES GROSZ

§ PM271319 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jun 87 Second Edition p 5

[USSR Council of Ministers congratulates Karoly Grosz on election as Hungarian premier]

[Text] To Comrade Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers

Esteemed Comrade Karoly Grosz!

We cordially congratulate you on your election to the high post of chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers.

We wish you great success in your responsible work for the good of the Hungarian people and in the interests of implementing the 13th MSZMP Congress decisions and further developing and deepening the fraternal friendship and all-around cooperation between the USSR and Hungary.

The USSR Council of Ministers

U.S. TRADE MOVE AGAINST ROMANIA CRITICIZED

PM291137 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jun 87 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Discriminatory Measure"]

[Text] Bucharest, 28 Jun -- AGERPRES rates the U.S. Senate decision to approve a draft amendment suspending most favored nation status to Romania for 6 months as a hostile act and one entirely in contradiction with the interests of the development of Romanian-U.S. relations. A statement circulated here by the agency emphasizes that his decision is at variance with the spirit of the good relations between the two countries and runs counter to the provisions of GATT, the norms of interstate relations, and also the Romanian-U.S. trade agreement which provides for the reciprocal granting of most favored nation status on the basis of the principles of equality and respect for each other's independence and noninterference in domestic affairs.

RUST FLIGHT COMPARED TO PAST U.S. 'PROVOCATIONS'

PM281335 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jun 87 p 3

[Article by Candidate of Juridical Sciences A. Savinov: "Subversion With a Long-range Target, or What Lies Behind the 'Hussar's Sortie' by Mathias Rust, Who Violated the Soviet Union's Air Border"]

[Text] Despite the fact that a month has passed since the Cessna sports plane piloted by 19-year-old FRG citizen Mathias Rust landed in Moscow, the questions raised by this unprecedented act are much more numerous than the answers. Nevertheless even now certain conclusions suggest themselves. Political observers both in the Soviet Union and abroad are inclining increasingly to the view that this flight cannot be regarded merely as a "hussar's sortie" by some prankster acting alone.

There is every reason to consider that the route, the nature of the flight, and its final destination were not fortuitous. Rust had carefully studied navigation charts of the northwestern part of the USSR, the weight of the aircraft had been reduced, and seats in the passenger cabin had been replaced with additional fuel tanks. Immediately after taking off from an airfield in Helsinki Rust turned his Cessna in the direction of the USSR state border, although the flight plan indicated Stockholm as the final destination. Finally, the pilot dropped an oil drum in the Baltic with a view to misleading the Finnish coast guard...

These and other direct and indirect circumstances surrounding the Cessna's flight and landing in Moscow testify that this act was carefully conceived, considered, and prepared in advance.

Incidentally, Rust's violation of Soviet airspace is by no means the only provocation of this kind against our country.

For more than 30 years U.S. aircraft have regularly conducted intelligence flights in the immediate vicinity of the Soviet north, far east, and Siberia.

It is a characteristic fact that the organizers of provocations against the USSR are making increasingly frequent use of civilian aircraft. This was the case on 20 April 1978, when a Boeing 707 airliner belonging to the South Korean airline KAL, after taking off from Orly airport in Paris with 97 unsuspecting passengers on board, intruded into the USSR's airspace in an area northeast of Murmansk. It was many hundreds of kilometers off the recognized international course. Despite vigorous actions by air services on the ground and air defense fighter aircraft, for 2 hours the violator did not respond to radio and light signals beamed at it and continued its provocative flight deep into USSR territory. Soviet fighters forced the airliner to land.

The pilots themselves admitted that they had deliberately intruded into our country's airspace.

Later it also became clear that the flight had been organized by the CIA.

Guided by humanitarian principles and taking into consideration the pilots' acknowledgement of their personal guilt and the fact that the aircraft had nevertheless landed, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a decision not to institute criminal proceedings against the crew members.

However this lesson did not teach the provocateurs anything. On 1 September 1983 a South Korean Boeing 747 passenger aircraft intruded into the USSR's airspace over the Kamachatka peninsula and the island of Sakahlin. The liner was more than 500 km off course. Failing to react to orders from the ground and signals from fighter aircraft, the Boeing pilot attempted to evade pursuit. The intruding aircraft was downed by air defense facilities.

Dozens of completely innocent passegners died. The responsibility for the carefully planned provocation against the USSR lay on the White House, the CIA, and the U.S. military-industrial complex. A few days later it became known that the Boeing had been accompanied by a RS-135 reconnaissance aircraft and that the flight of the intruding aircraft had been tracked by not only civilian air traffic control centers but also by the American special services.

As in the first case, neither the American nor the Japanese airport services responsible for observance of the flight regulations in the relevant international corridor took steps to correct the aircraft's route or intervened in the events in order to avert a tragedy. It is also known that the first broadcast report about the "incident" involving the spy plane came from Japan's National Defense Agency, which maintains close contacts with the Pentagon and the CIA.

The Boeing 747 flight also passed over strategically important areas of our country. In both cases, and this must be especially stressed, the time and location of the intruding aircraft's flights were precisely synchronized with the passage of U.S. reconnaissance satellites over USSR territory. The airliners were essentially used as a target to provoke our air defense system to reveal its detection potential [razreshayushchiye vozmozhnosti] and modus operandi in emergency conditions. The intruding aircraft's behavior -- namely the fact that the pilots did not report having lost their bearings, did not seek the assistance of air traffic control services, extinguished their navigation lights, and refused to obey the legitimate demands from air defense fighter aircraft and Soviet services on the ground to land on USSR territory -- contradicts the norms of international law. The provisions of the Chicago convention on international civil aviation were violated. Moreover, the organizers of the provocation deliberately placed the passengers in lethal jeopardy. Is this not an example of supreme hypocrisy and cynical flouting of human rights?

On that occasion too the moment for the criminal adventure was not chosen at random. The world public was awaiting a radical solution to serious problems of significance for the whole of mankind, namely the reduction of strategic and nuclear arms in Europe.

Immediately after this incident the United States attempted to involve the UN Security Council in the campaign of lies and slander it unleashed against the Soviet Union. At an ICAO session Washington, using "arm twisting" tactics, managed to force through an unlawful decision banning Aeroflot flights into the airports of certain capitalist states. President Reagan delivered a speech on the Voice of America containing malicious attacks on our country. It was broadcast in 42 languages. In cranking up the anti-Soviet hysteria to the limit and demanding "punishment" for the USSR, the architects of the provocation were pursuing several objectives at the same time: to wreck the talks in Geneva and Vienna, move the world even further away from detente, and obstruct the process of the building of international cooperation.

The attempt to slander our state at that time was unsuccessful. However the course toward detente was halted and the Geneva talks were stopped. [paragraph continues]

On a wave of anti-Sovietism the Pentagon got appropriations allocated for the production of MX missiles and B-1 bombers and the United States forced the governments of certain West European countries to agree to the siting of medium-range missiles on their territory.

If you recall, that was precisely the time when the USSR had advanced an initiative in accordance with which, in the event of the achievement of an agreement, including U.S. abandonment of the deployment of further missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union, while reducing its medium-range missiles in the European part of the country to a level equal to the number of missiles held by Britain and France, would have eliminated all missiles subject to reduction [vse sokrashchayemyye rakety]. In that event a considerable number of the most modern missiles known in the West as SS-20's would also have been eliminated.

This proposal was approved and supported by the world public. But in Washington it caused consternation ... The provocative Boeing flight was organized to distract attention from the USSR's peace initiative.

There is also another equally graphic example in the chain of CIA and Pentagon crimes against the USSR. On 13 March 1986 two U.S. warships intruded into the USSR's territorial waters, flouting the norms of Soviet and international law, and did not leave again for more than 2 hours. Our country's top political and military leadership displayed unparalleled restraint and did not succumb to the provocation.

This act did not achieve its main objective, although some people were evidently expecting that Soviet seamen would be ordered to destroy the U.S. ships.

Let us now return to the Rust adventure. What were its organizers hoping for? Judging by how the flight was prepared and what actions the pilot took, they were planning another provocation. It will not be long before all the i's are dotted, but even now it can be asserted that the violation of Soviet airspace was carried out with a far-reaching aim.

Now, when the Soviet Union has again advanced peace proposals which are capturing the imagination, certain circles in the West, on the one hand fearful of finally losing the political initiative and on the other knowing on other way to "neutralize" the USSR's program in the field of disarmament, are gambling on provocations of the kind committed with the aid of the Boeings...

Fueling the myth of the "bloodthirstiness" and "aggrressiveness" of the Russians, attempts are being made in Washington to sow doubts in the minds of millions of people in the West about the sincerity of the Soviet Union's peace-loving policy and to take the heat out of the peace struggle at a crucial moment in history when a decision on an urgent question -- the ending of the arms race and disarmament -- is in the balance.

The prosecutor's office of the city of Itzehoe has instituted proceedings against M. Rust since he has committed a punishable act under FRG law.

The West German magazine BUNTE asks seven questions about M. Rust's flight. But in fact there are considerably more questions: legal, political, and moral alike. And they do not apply to M. Rust alone.

PANAMA ASSEMBLY SEEKS U.S. AMBASSADOR'S REMOVAL

LD300748 Moscow TASS in English 0616 GMT 30 Jun 87

[Text] Panama June 30 TASS -- On Monday the Panamanian Legislative Assembly adopted a resolution demanding that the government declare Arthur Davis, U.S. ambassador to Panama, persona non grata. He is accused of a plot to overthrow the Panamanian Government.

This move was taken after the U.S. Embassy in Panama, in collusion with the country's reactionary forces, had engineered anti-government actions. The Panamanian Government was forced to impose a state of emergency in the country, which irked Washington. In response to this decision of the Panamanian authorities, the United States took a series of crude actions. In actual fact the U.S. Congress demanded in an ultimatum form that the Panamanian Government repeal the state of emergency. However, the new attempt of diktat by Washington ended in a flop.

CONTRAS ACCUSED OF MISUSING RED CROSS EMBLEM

LD291952 Moscow TASS in English 2231 GMT 29 Jun 87

[Text] Geneva June 29 TASS -- Nicaraguan contras use the Red Cross emblem when carrying military cargoes. This fact was pointed out by the International Red Cross Committee in a statement circulated here in connection with the publication by the U.S. magazine NEWSWEEK of an article on the use of the Red Cross emblem by counter-revolutionaries for clearly unsavoury purposes.

Noting that one of the photographs illustrating the article shows a group of contras unloading military equipment from a helicopter with the Red Cross emblem, the International Red Cross Committee assesses this is a gross violation of the international humanitarian law. The statement says that the transportation of arms, military material and troops under the cover of the Red Cross is outlawed. Being an independant humanitarian institution, the International Red Cross Committee acts as a neutral mediator during armed conflicts and internal disturbances in some country.

The statement says that the International Red Cross Committee is not obliged to investigate the case described by NEWSWEEK. But it is obliged to remind everyone of the principles governing the use of the emblem and possible consequences of their violation.

PLENUM PRODUCES DOCUMENT ON ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING

PM291551 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jun 87 Second Edition pp 2,3

["Basic Provisions for Radical Restructuring of Economic Management"; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Basic Provisions for Radical Restructuring of Economic Management

To accelerate the country's social and economic development, to resolutely overcome the unfavorable tendencies in the economy, impart proper dynamism to it, open scope for the initiative and creativity of the masses, for truly revolutionary transformations in society -- this is the top priority of the party and the entire people set forth by the CPSU Central Committee April 1985 Plenum and approved by the 27th CPSU Congress.

The CPSU Central Committee notes that in accordance with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, a new structural and investment policy has been formulated and is being implemented in the economy, the main sphere of society. Forces and means are being concentrated on the development of the social sphere, and the key directions of scientific and technological progress. Resolute efforts to raise the efficiency of production and improve the quality of output are being taken.

A process of far-reaching changes in the management of the economy has begun. New methods of management are being mastered which were worked out on the basis of an analysis of the situation that had formed late in the 1970s and early in the 1980s and of a series of major economic experiments. So far, only partial results have been achieved. The economy's development is being restrained by snags in the economic mechanism and system of management.

The declaration mechanism has not yet been dismantled. Economic processes have not yet been freed from the pressure of cost-is-no-objection and gross output approaches. Work to save resources is progressing slowly; a breakthrough, has not taken place in accelerating scientific and technological progress.

The main unit of the national economy -- the enterprise (amalgamation) has not yet been placed in such economic conditions that would prompt it to satisfy society's requirements in its output produced with an efficient utilization of all resources.

Only separate components of the new system of management on the level of the national economy have been formed. There is little change in the forms and methods of work of the branch ministries. They effect management primarily administrative methods. The functions of the central economic bodies have not been changed and the accumulated problems in the field of planning, price-forming, material and technical supply, finances and credit, work organization and remuneration are increasingly making themselves felt.

The CPSU Central Committee believes the main political task of the party in the economic field is to carry out a radical reform and create a streamlined, effective, and flexible system of management, making it possible to make maximum use of the advantages of socialism.

The radical reform of managing the country's economy is directed at:

-- Reorienting economic growth from intermediate to terminal, socially significant results, to satisfying public requirements;

-- Organically combining the interests of society, the collective and every worker, ensuring the all-round development of the individual and attaining a qualitatively new level of welfare for Soviet people;

-- Turning scientific and technological progress into the main factor of economic growth;

-- Ensuring balance, overcoming shortages of material resources, consumer goods and services that obstruct efficient management and intensification of production;

-- Giving the consumer priority in economic relations, rights and possibilities of economic choice;

-- Creating a reliably operating cost-restricting mechanism for the functionin gof the national economy and first of all of its main unit -- the enterprise (amalgamation).

The essence of the radical restructuring of managing the country's economy is the transition from predominatly administrative to economic methods of management at all levels, to management of interests and by way of interests, to an extensive democratization of management and the utmost invigoration of the human factor.

A streamlined system of management has been worked out in accordance with the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee April 1985 Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress. It includes:

-- Firstly, a drastic expansion of the margins of independence of enterprises (amalgamations), their transition of full cost-accounting and self-financing, enhanced responsibility for the highest end results, the fulfillment of obligations to clients, the establishment of a direct dependence between the level of incomes of the collective and the efficiency of its work, the extensive developments of the collective contract in labor relations;

-- Secondly, a fundamental reorganization of the centralized management of the economy and raising of its qualitative level, concentration on the main processes determining the strategy, rates and ratios of development of the national economy as a whole, balanced development and an emphatic, simultaneous relieving of the centre of interference in the day-to-day operation of subordinate economic units;

-- Thirdly, a cardinal reform of planning, price-forming, the finance and credit mechanism, transition to wholesale trading in means of production and reorganization of management of scientific and technological progress, foreign economic ties, labor and social processes;

-- Fourthly, creation of new organizational structures ensuring a deepening of specialization and raising the realiability of co-production ties, as well as direct inclusion of science in production and on this basis a breakthrough to the world standard of quality;

-- Fifthly, transition from the excessively centralized system of management to a democratic one, development of self-management, creation of a mechanism of activating the potential of the individual, clear-cut delimitation of functions and drastic change in the style and methods of activity of party, government, public and economic organizations.

The reorganization of economic management should be comprehensive. It should generally be completed during the present 5-year-plan period and the 13th 5-year-plan period should be formed in full accordance with the new mechanism of economic management.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum holds that the radical reform of economic management is one of the main directions of the restructuring and renewal of socialist society and instructs the CPSU Central Committee politburo, all party organizations to head the activity of work collectives, soviets of people's deputies and economic agencies in implementing it in accordance with the following main provisions.

I. To Switch to the New Economic Mechanism of the Activity of Enterprises (Amalgamations) [subhead]

1. The CPSU Central Committee holds that the main unit of the economy -- the enterprise (amalgamation) is the starting point of radical transformations of the economic mechanism. The most favorable economic environment should be created for it, its right should be formalized, its responsibility enhanced and on this basis the entire system of economic management reorganized.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum puts forward the task of setting up a modern economic mechanism of the activity of enterprises on the basis of full cost-accounting, self-repayment and self-financing, providing for effective internal incentives for its development, stimulating work aimed at the consumer, all-round resource-saving and broad use of achievements of science and technology. This mechanism should gear the interests of the enterprise most closely to the interests of the national economy.

With these aims in view, the enterprise should independently draft and endorse its five-year and yearly plans, proceeding from social requirements on the basis of state orders, direct orders of enterprises and organizations and consumer demand. This sharply increases the role of contracts in planning, assessment and material stimulation of the performance of enterprises, which implies greater mutual responsibility of the customer and the manufacturer. Control figures, long-term economic norms, state orders and allocations are the initial data and basis for drafting the state plan of the enterprise.

A provision should be made for prompt and flexible acquisition by enterprises of necessary raw and other materials, accessories, machines and equipment. [paragraph continues]

With these aims in view, it is necessary to turn from material and technical supply of enterprises based on limits and assets to predominantly wholesale purchase of means of production, without assets and limits, by way of the free choice of partners in economic relations -- manufacturers or wholesale outlets operating on a cost-accounting basis.

2. The enterprise (amalgamation) should bear /full economic responsibility for the results of its activity,/ and the level of incomes of the workforce should directly depend on these results. For that, all enterprises are to be put on a /full cost-accounting and self-financing basis./ The enterprise should use its revenues to cover all current expenses, including wages and salaries, and invest in modernization, extension of production and social development. An order should be in operation when the state is not accountable for commitments of enterprises. Budgetary financing is, as a rule, excluded. It is preserved only for implementing the largest projects. The enterprises are simultaneously given broad opportunities for responsible use of bank credits.

The cost-accounting revenue, calculated from the sale of products with the deduction of material outlay, payments into the budget and to the higher authority and credit interest, is called upon to become the chief source of financing, the activity of the workforce of the enterprise. The enterprise independently uses depreciation deductions directed according to a fixed norm to the fund for the development of production, science and technnology or to another similar fund.

The practice of /gratuitous diversion of workers of one enterprise for performing work at other enterprises/ -- collective and state farms, building organizations, vegetable storages, and so on -- should be considered as incompatible with full cost-accounting and self-financing.

It can be done only by decision of the soviets of people's deputies as an exception, provided orders are placed in the form of contracts and costs are recouped by those enterprises and organizations for whom this work is done.

3. The combination of the interests of the entire people with those of the collective is attained through long-term stable economic standards of payment to the state budget; through wage and economic incentives funds as well as prices and interests on credit. They are called upon to create economic conditions which will make it profitable for enterprises to seek more effective ways of satisfying demand, boosting production and raising the quality of output, to fulfill state orders, meet target figures and vigorously implement scientific and technological progress.

To successfully fulfill these functions, the long-term economic standards must be endorsed by enterprises before drafting their 5-year plans and be stable. Attempts to set them on the initial base, divide by years and expense items, and substitute gross output targets for them should be regarded as incompatible with the new economic mechanism.

It is necessary to set the standard of payments from an enterprise's revenues or profits into the budget on the basis of the state's equal demands on the use of productive resources. Rates of payment for productive assets, labor and natural resources should be used for these purposes.

A line should be drawn on introducing the single rate of payment for productive assets at all enterprises of the branch and in all branches in the future. Provision should be made enabling either to suspend or lower it for loss-making and insufficiently profitable enterprises.

It is necessary to refund the state's expenses on manpower training and on providing sociocultural, municipal, and everyday services for workers and members of the families through payment for labor resources, differentiated by the country's regions depending on the level of availability of labor resources.

Through payment for natural resources (land, water, minerals) to deduct a differential rent which forms as a result of difference in the natural productivity of these resources.

Along with the payments for resources to the budget, to use taxation on an enterprise's revenues, left after payments for resources and interests on credit.

4. In switching over to full cost-accounting, the collectives of enterprises depending on production activities can opt for either of the two/models of full cost-accounting and self-financing./

The /first/ model is based on the standard distribution of profits. The wage fund is formed on the basis of net product, and in extractive industries also on the basis of marketed product in physical terms. Profits are used to make payments into the budget and higher authorities and pay interest on credit. The remaining profit is made available to work collectives. The remaining profits are used to form funds for the development of production, science and technology; social development; material incentives. In this cost-accounting model revenue is comprised of the wage fund and remaining profits.

The /second/ model (collective contract model) is based on the standard distribution of profits, which remain after refunding costs from the revenue.

The profit is used to make payments to the budget and higher authorities and pay interests on credit, which leaves a cost-accounting profit. The single wage fund consists of the remaining part of an enterprise's cost-accounting profit after forming funds for the development of production, science and technology; and social development, which are fixed in normatives in respect to the cost-accounting profit.

5. It is necessary to create conditions for /economic emulation/ and competition between enterprises, including those run by the state and co-op, to meet consumer demand in the best possible way and at minimum cost; to use economic emulation as a means against the manufacturer's monopoly and diktat over the consumer.

6. To carry out a /transfer to the self-management by work collectives/ for the purpose of ensuring that every worker is a true master in production and to strengthen guarantees for the rights of enterprises. To make fuller use of the advantages of the self-management to provide people with greater incentives to take care of public property, to foster initiative and ingenuity of every worker and, at the same time, instill a sense of responsibility for the performance of their enterprise, its successes and mistakes.

To recommend to the work collectives of enterprises to set up within 1987-1988 the councils of work collectives and hold elections of leaders on the basis of the broad application of a competitive system.

II. To Raise the Efficiency of Centralized Economic Guidance on the Basis of Economic Managment Methods. [subhead]

The CPSU Central Committee belives that in conditions of the new economic mechanism of enterprises (amalgamations) it is necessary to /overhaul the system of centralised economic guidance./ It should be concentrated on issues which can and must be solved only in the center. This concerns, first, the implementation of the state's strategy of economic, social, scientific and technical development, the adjustment of national economic processes on the basis of complete and reliable economic balance. Second, this concerns the provision of necessary conditions for effective functioning of enterprises (amalgamations) and territorial administrative units. The restructuring drive must ensure the optimum unity between the centralized planned economic guidance and independence of its individual links, and the development of commodity-money relations.

The attainment of strategic goals of the economic policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state currently calls for the creation of a centralized guidance system, which is implemented through controlling interests with the use of all economic levers -- plan, financial credit relations, prices, material and technical supply in their organic interrelation and unity.

The modern form of /democratic centralism/ presupposes the reliance on the activity of working people and independence of enterprises, the wide use of economic methods.

Planning [subhead]

The CPSU Central Committee points out that the planned management of the economy as a single national economic complex is the major gain and advantage of the socialist economic system and the main instrument of the realization of the party's economic policy.

1. With a view to more fully utilizing the advantages of the planned economy, it is essential to /restructure the system for state planning of economic and social development of the country./

It is essential to elaborate /a concept of economic and social development of the USSR/ for the coming fifteen years as the initial economic and political platform for consistent embodiment of the party's economic strategy in plans and for determination of fundamental ways and means to carry it out.

Such a concept should include a set of priorities and goals of the country's development, determine the directions of the structural and investments policy, scientific and technological progress, the objectives of social development, and tasks of accumulating educational and cultural potential and maintaining the country's defense capability.

The concept serves as a scientifically valid program for the drafting of the Main Guidelines for Economic and Social Development of the USSR for the next 15 years with a detailed feasibility study of the first 5 years of the period.

The main guidelines should materialize the party's strategy in specific figures and targets, determine the initial parameters of a plan for the coming five years and to substantiate possibilities and time for its implementation for each year of the coming 5-year period.

2. A state 5-year plan for the economic and social development of the USSR being worked out in a yearly breakdown should be made the main form of the realization of the goals and tasks provided for by the main guidelines.

A draft state 5-year plan for the economic and social development of the USSR is worked out by the USSR State Planning Committee proceeding from the main guidelines for economic and social development, draft plans of the ministries (departments) of the USSR and union republics, and determines major indicators which describe the results, proportions and efficiency of the national economy. The USSR State Planning Committee submits a draft 5-year plan to the Council of Ministers of the USSR in advance, prior to the beginning of a regular 5-year period.

Following the main guidelines for economic and social development and the initial planning data being supplied by the USSR State Planning Committee, and on the strength of the plans of enterprises (amalgamations) of ministries (departments) of the USSR, the councils of ministers of the union republics work out draft 5-year plans for the development of branches and union republics.

The ministries (departments) of the USSR and the councils of mnisters of the union republics determine initial data for the drawing up of 5-year plans by enterprises (amalgamations) under their authority: planned targets, long-term stable economic standards, state orders and allocations. In accordance with the initial data, as well as with direct orders placed by users and material and technical supply agencies, the enterprises (amalgamations) conclude economic contracts, draw up and endorse their own plans.

3. A transition to economic methods of planning the activities of enterprises on the basis of planned targets, long-term stable economic standards, state orders, and allocations is the central element of the reorganization.

/Planned targets/ should reflect social requirements for the products made by the enterprise, and the minimum levels of the efficiency of production. They should not be directive in nature and should not restrain the work collective in the elaboration of a plan, giving it wide scope for the choice of solutions and partners when concluding economic contracts. The filling of orders and contracts should become the major criterion of an evaluation of the activities of enterprises and of material incentives to the work collectives.

Planned targets include the indicators of output, work completed, and services in terms of value (estimated) for concluding contracts, profit (income), currency revenue, and the most important general indicators of scientific and technological progress, and indicators of the development of the social sphere.

The indicators of labor productivity and materials-intensiveness can be used in the period of mastering the new economic mechanism and finalizing the transition to complete cost accounting, self-repayment and self-financing.

/Stable long-term economic standards/ determine relationships with the budget, the formation of the funds for the remuneration of labor and economic incentives, and are, along with prices and interest on credit, the main instruments of planning and the main levers of the planning agencies' influence on enterprises, urging them to work in the interests of society and to achieve the objectives of the plan.

/State orders/ guarantee the satisfaction of first-priority social requirements and are handed down to enterprises for putting into operation production capacities and facilities of the social sphere at the expense of state centralized capital investments, as well as for the delivery of some types of products which are necessary, first of all, for the solution of state social tasks, the implementation of scientific and technical programs, the strengthening of the country's defense capacity, and for the delivery of farm products to the all-union and republican stocks.

State orders are handed down to the enterprise by a higher authority and may be placed on a competitive basis; they are compulsory for being included in the plan. When state orders are placed, provision should be made for mutual responsibility of the sides -- the manufacturer and the customer.

/Allocations/ for the enterprises set ceilings on state centralized capital investments for the development of inter-sectoral production units, new construction projects, and solution of particularly important tasks in accordance with the list of projects included in the state plan, the amounts of building, assembly and contractor work, and the centrally-distributed material resources.

4. Proceeding from the overall tasks of the reorganization of the entire planning work in the country, /to radically reorganize the activities of the USSR State Planning Committee and other central economic departments./

To make the USSR State Planning Committee the truly economic and scientific headquarters of the country, relieved of the current economic issues. It should concentrate efforts on strategic directions of the planned guidance of economic and social development, the formation of major national economic proportions, the realization of main scientific and technical achievement, the refinement of the structural and investment policy, and the ensurance of a balanced nature of the national economy.

Taking this into account, to restructure the staff of the USSR State Planning Committee and other planning agencies, and to strengthen their combined, socioeconomic, scientific and technical, and territorial subdivisions.

Continuous adjustment of the economic mechanism and the creation of economic prerequisites for an efficient operation of the enterprises, and the elaboration of scientifically valid long-term stable economic standards should become paramount in the activities of the USSR State Planning Committee.

At a time when a coordinated elaboration of financial plans, long-term stable economic standards, a system of prices, financial and credit levers, principles of the remuneration and stimulation of labor for the 5-year plan period acquires major importance, the USSR State Planning Committee should be entrusted with coordinating the activities of central economic agencies.

All planning work should be organized to ensure, in practice, an acceleration of scientific and technological progress and to make it the main source of economic growth. With respect to both the entire national economy and the guidance of the scientific and technological progress, it is essential to resolutely abandon administrative and high-handed methods and move on to economic management methods. Long-term stable economic standards, prices, finances and credits, and state orders should be oriented towards accelerating scientific and technological progress.

In accordance with this, the activities of the /USSR State Committee for Science and Technology/ should also be reorganized, and it should be entrusted with elaborating state scientific and technical programs, the formation, distribution and control over the filling of state orders for the development of science and technology and with directing inter-sectoral scientific and technical complexes.

To ensure large-scale introduction of competitive contractual principles in the scientific and technical sphere, including fundamental research.

To make scientific research and development efforts on the principles of cost accounting and self-financing, the customers' payment for the results of scientific development efforts, depending on the effect of their utilization.

Material and Technical Support [subhead]

The CPSU Central Committee points out that material and technical support requires radical reorganization under the new conditions of management.

1. It should be based on a resolute /transition from centralized/ allocation of material resources and the attachment of users to producers to wholesale trade in capital goods.

Wholesale trade should be used as a means making it possible to increase the influence of the user on the producer and to achieve a dynamic balance between demand and supply, to overcome the deficit of material resources;

To give a real opportunity to each enterprise within the limits of its financial means to acquire material and technical resources corresponding to its requirements and development plans, and thereby to ensure material conditions for complete cost accounting and self-financing.

Wholesale trade in capital goods should be maintained in the form of free purchase and sale under direct contracts between producers and users, contracts with intermediaries, first of all, with the enterprises of territorial supply-and-sales agencies and through the manufacturers' chain stores.

The transition to the marketing of capital goods by wholesale trade should be completed within 4,5 years. It is advisable to sell only particularly scarce capital goods within the limits of allocations.

To effect a transition to trade in capital goods in individual groups of commodities, which are particularly essential for the manufacture of consumer goods, for the provision of agricultural, construction, and machine building as well as for the development of individual enterprise cooperation, in the coming years.

2. /To organize a system for the filling of and support for orders placed by the state./ The composition of orders placed by the state is fixed by the USSR State Planning Committee while those placed by the ministries and departments are fixed by them jointly with the committee.

The composition of state-placed orders for enterprises which are under the authority of republican ministries and departments as well as for consumer goods and paid services (except orders placed by the USSR State Planning Committee, by the ministries and departments of the USSR) is endorsed by the councils of ministers of the union republics.

Economic management bodies place state orders with enterprises (amalgamations) and if necessary give a list of enterprises, organizations and institutions which are granted the right to purchase products made under the orders.

3. To consider it the main task of the territorial agencies of the /USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply/ to organize jointly with enterprises a reliable and effective system of material and technical support in the region, to establish stable rational contacts between suppliers and users, to exercise control over the delivery of output, and to render effective aid to enterprises in providing them with material resources.

The USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply and its agencies should organize, on a cost accounting basis, a multi-channel trade in capital goods, and economic management of the rational utilization of material resources.

The supply-and-sales organizations are called upon to become independent self-sustained enterprises to render paid services in selecting the most rational variants of the marketing of output, its sale on a commission basis, in determining possible sources of supply, in servicing small producers and users, in storing and initial processing of products, in using secondary resources, and other services.

The material and technical supply agencies and enterprises bear material responsibility for failure to comply with their contractual obligations and, according to an established procedure, make up for the damage done.

Price Formation [subhead]

The CPSU Central Committee is of the opinion that a radical reform of price formation should become a major component of the reorganization of economic management. [paragraph continues]

Under new conditions of management, it is essential to firmly eliminate the underestimation of the role of price formation in economic management and to make prices an effective instrument for raising the efficiency of social production, for developing economic management methods, and for deepening cost accounting and self-financing.

1. It is essential to effect not just a partial refinement of the pricing system but a /mutually dovetailed reorganization of the pricing mechanism -- wholesale, purchasing, and retail prices and tariffs./

A reform of price formation should improve the situation in the national economy and create better conditions for the drive for the efficiency of production. Work to restructure the system of prices and tariffs should be done within the shortest possible period so that next 5 year plan could be drawn upon the basis of new prices. Preparation for this work should begin immediately.

2. /All types of prices and tariffs should be reconsidered in their aggregate./ Organic connection between wholesale, purchasing, and retail prices and tariffs should be ensured during the realization of a radical reform of price formation.

It is necessary to consistently reflect in them the socially necessary expenses on the production and marketing of output, its consumer-oriented properties, the quality of output, and effective demand. Prices should take into account the payment for production assets, labor and natural resources as well as expenses on environmental protection.

Prices should be given a cost restricting character. Their stimulating role in accelerating scientific and technological progress, in improving the quality of output, and in saving resources should be raised.

A new system of prices should ensure a reduction in unjustified redistribution processes and subsidies, create economically valid conditions for a transition to complete cost accounting and self-financing in all branches of the national economy.

/Correlation between wholesale prices of the products made by raw-materials and processing branches of industry/ should be improved in a new system of prices. The prices of raw materials and fuel should be raised with a view of ensuring a normal level of profitability of appropriate branches, and to stimulating the saving of fuel and raw-material resources.

The prices of engineering products and new equipment should take real effectiveness of machines and equipment into account and stimulate the manufacture and mastering of high-quality products and fundamentally new equipment corresponding to or exceeding the best foreign specimens. Contract prices of the results of scientific and technical development efforts should be determined in keeping with the effect produced by their application.

In construction, it is essential to create conditions for large-scale use of /contract prices of completed construction projects and of other finished products of buildings./

/The purchasing prices of farm products/ should create conditions for concentrating agricultural production in the main commodity zones, specialization and rational distribution, economically efficient work of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, a rise in labor productivity and the quality of output, and a reduction in expenses.

To promote a gradual transition to the payment for farm products at contract and calculative prices which are determined on the basis of and within the limits of wholesale and retail prices of appropriate end products.

The change of /retail prices/ should not lead to a decline in the living standard of the working people but, on the contrary, should result in a rise in the living standard of certain categories of working people and in fuller exercise of social justice.

By virtue of the importance and complexity of the reform of price formation, its preparation should be treated with great responsibility. The reform of price formation should become the subject of the broadest discussion in the country, considering its political and social significance.

The planning of prices and tariffs should be an integral part of 5-year plans to more fully reflect the tasks and conditions of the development of the national economy in the planned period.

/The USSR State Committee for Prices/ and its organs should concentrate their activity on preparing for and carrying out a radical reform of price formation, ensuring the correspondence between prices and the demands of the party's social policy and the national economic efficiency of output, and on monitoring the general level, structure, and dynamics of prices.

The establishment of prices for specific types of output and services should be based on the extensive use of economic methods while simultaneously intensifying the centralized principles in the management of the entire price formation process. It is necessary to substantially enhance the role of users in determining prices, to broaden the practice of fixing limit and contract prices, to combine stability and flexibility, to simplify the price fomation procedure by sharply reducing the share of centrally-fixed prices, and to simultaneously determine the latter with the elaboration of a state plan.

It is necessary to create a /single state system of control over prices,/ to overcome the tendency toward the growth of prices on the basis of the development of the competitive power of enterprises, the elimination of deficit and any types of monopolism, of pressure on producer on the part of user which under conditions of self-financing has to limit its expenditures by the earned funds.

Financial and Credit-Granting Mechanism

The CPSU Central Committee holds that a /radical reorganization of the financial and credit-granting system/ is essential for a successful transition to new management conditions.

1. Finances and credits should be made one of the major instruments ensuring the organic inclusion of commodity-money relations in the mechanism of plan-based economic management, and raising its efficiency.

An improvement of the financial situation is needed, first of all, for a new economic mechanism to begin functioning. With this end in view, a /special program for a financial revitalization of the national economy/ should be worked out, and money turnover should be brought into line with the turnover of material resources. Any expenditure of means in production should be carried out at the expense of earned money and should be correlated with the effectiveness of measures taken.

2. Five-year financial plans should become an integral part of state plans for economic and social development.

To place the relationship between the budget and enterprises on a normative basis and to reduce to the utmost the non-returnable circulation of funds, to cut off all possibilities for gaining incomes without the end marketing of goods.

To raise the stability of the revenue part of the state budget, and to turn the payments by enterprises for the used resources into the main source of budget revenue from socialist enterprises.

3. /The USSR Ministry of Finance/ and its local agencies should resolutely carry out a fundamentally new financial policy based on combining the interests of the state and enterprises.

To ensure genuine control over the efficiency of management by using money levers, remove the fiscal-redistributive activities of financial agencies, petty tutelage, detailed regimentation, and parisitic tendencies. To determine a package of measures for financial and credit-lending regulation of cooperative and individual labor activity and to regulate taxation of the population's incomes, and to bring the style, methods and forms of work into line with new management methods.

4. /To change the system of financing the activities of budgetary organizations/ and to build it on the basis of long-term stable economic standards and financial norms oriented toward activities' end results.

To more widely use methods of economic stimulation of the quality of work and rational utilization of the appropriations assigned. To grant a right to budgetary organizations, which have attained the established indicators of their operation, to use the saved means for their social and production needs.

To end the practice of withdrawing the means saved by them and of diminishing by that sum the appropriations for next plan period.

5. It is essential to effect /cardinal changes in managing credits:/ to restore the main principles of lending, to draw distinction between budget and credit resources, to exclude the use of emission for credit granting, and to turn credit into an instrument of strengthening the Soviet ruble.

To consider it advisable to establish specialized banks with due account for the pecularities of national economic complexes and fuller satisfaction of the populations' requirements for credit-and-settlements services, to turn the credit granting system into a highly qualified, reliable and interested partner of enterprises and organizations.

/The State Bank of the USSR/ should become the actual, main bank of the country, the organizer and coordinator of all credit-granting and settlement relations in the national economy. Its role as the single emission and banking center should be enhanced.

To make it binding upon the State Bank of the USSR to draw a clear distinction between credit resources by the sources of their formation and areas of application, and to coordinate the activities of specialized banks.

It is advisable to reduce nonreturnable budget financing of capital construction and to broaden the use of long-term credits for these purposes. The activities of the banking system should be transferred to the principles of complete cost accounting and self-financing.

6. /The organization of insurance and money saving bank business in the country/ should be raised to a qualitatively new level. With this end in view, the principles of complete cost accounting and self-financing should be used in the activities of state insurance agencies. New types of insurance should be introduced, its promptness and flexibility should be increased, its range extended, and the quality of services rendered to the population by the saving banks and insurance agencies should be raised.

7. /The influence of the financial and credit granting mechanism on raising the efficiency and expansion of foreign econonic relations/ is to be /enhanced./ The development of monetary and trade, and economic relations should be maintained on a mutually beneficial basis.

The financial and credit granting mechanism is to create economic conditions for improving the pattern of export and import, for widening production cooperation on the basis of currency self-repayment and self-financing, and the pursuance of an active customs policy.

Special attention should be devoted to raising the purchasing power of the ruble, and to ensuring its stage-by-stage convertibility, first and foremost, within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA).

III. To Remake Organizational Patterns of Management [subhead]

A bulky and continuously swelling apparatus is characteristic of the established pattern and methods of management. It tries to manage the economy not by using economic interests but by means of detailed and day-to-day instructions and petty control. As a result, the management system becomes less and less efficient. The CPSU Central Committee considers it necessary to remake all the organizational economic structures -- from the main element to branches, regions and the national economy as a whole.

1. It is essential to ensure /the formation and development of organizational structures of the main element -- enterprises (amalgamations),/ to overcome narrow departmental and parochial barriers which restrict the process of the socialization of production, its concentration, specialization, combining, and the development of diverse integration processes, particularly horizontal ones, in the economy.

The transfer of enterprises to complete cost accounting and self-financing should combine with the granting of the rights to them to create common production units on a joint basis, and to unification, right up to complete merger if this is prompted by the interests of cooperation and technological ties and effective output of end products.

It is essential to pursue a policy of securing that union managerial bodies have under their authority in prospect several thousand big scientific-production, sectoral, intersectoral and territorial-sectoral associations capable of independently carrying out the entire cycle: "research and development -- investments -- production -- marketing -- servicing".

Medium- and small-sized enterprises, including cooperatives, oriented to the local market should be subordinated to republican and local managerial bodies.

During this work, one should proceed from the need to create organizational conditions for economic competition between enterprises (amalgamations), and to prevent the monopolization of production and the producer's dictation to the user.

2. /The ministries are called upon to be scientific and technical, planning and economic headquarters of sectors. /For the activities of ministries to radically improve, it is necessary to relieve them of the functions of day-to-day control of enterprises.

They should answer to the country for the satisfaction of requirements for the output of the branch, prevent disproportions, and ensure the attainment of world standards for the technology of production and quality of output, organizing the elaboration and implementation of sectoral scientific-and technical programs.

Their task is to effectively conduct work to deepen specialization and cooperation, to improve the organization and structure of production. It is of importance to raise the activity of ministries in the foreign economic field, and in training, re-training and advanced training of personnel.

New tasks and functions of the ministries call for specifying their composition, for cutting down and streamlining the structure of the staff and strengthening their scientific, technical, planning and economic subdivisions, and eliminating the part of the apparatus engaged in day-to-day economic functions.

The staff should master economic methods of management, secure the democratization of style, and raise openness in work.

3. The activities of the /standing bodies of the Council of Ministers of the USSR/ are to be improved and subordinated to the tasks of carrying out a radical reform of economic management.

The policy of turning the standing government bodies into viable organizations responsible for the development of their sectors should proceed. [paragraph continues]

Their work should be focused on solving inter-sectoral scientific and technical problems, on developing inter-sectoral cooperation, and on strengthening the export resources and international scientific, technical and economic cooperation.

4. Resolute measures should be taken to reduce and regulate the activities of the /control apparatus/ and to subordinate it to state and national interests. People's control should become an effective means for identifying pressing issues, and one of major forms of drawing masses of people into the process of self-management in the affairs of the state and society.

To set up on a basis of People's Control Committee of the USSR a single integrated system of control which would have broad powers on the whole of the country's territory, would conduct its activity in a comprehensive way, from all people's point of view, would rely on the maximum of openness in its work.

5. To radically revamp /statistics./ To ensure in its work a sharp turn toward qualitative indexes, the widening of the information on the matters of regional and social development, the holding of various selective surveys. To use statistics as an important instrument of openness, social and economic analysis, enhancement of competence in the solution of economic and social problems. To increase promptness and reliability of statistical information, to reduce and simplify accountability, to step up the effort to combat eye-wash and report-padding. To broaden the framework of the publication of statistic materials.

IV. To Ensure Optimal Combination of Branch and Territorial Economic Management [subhead]

1. The CPSU Central Committee, for purposes of all-round development of productive forces, deems it necessary to /enhance the territorial aspect in planning and to increase comprehensiveness of the plans of the economic and social development of union and autonomous republics, krays, oblasts, and large cities./

To draw up as a concept of territorial development a master plan of development and distribution of productive forces for a period of 15 years. In working out regional plans of the economic and social development, to take into consideration the activity of all enterprises and organizations situated on a given territory, regardless of their departmental subjugation. To pay special attention in plans to the development of the production and social infrastructure, of inter-branch facilities needed for a comprehensive development of a territory.

The limits for capital investments and building-assembly works necessary for the development of a republican economy should be set for a republic as a whole. In districts of new construction, the funds for the creation of a regional production and social infrastructure and environmental protection should be specially allocated. A system of economic privileges for enterprises placed in promising areas should be applied.

2. /To heighten responsibility of the Council of Ministers of the union republics for a comprehensive solution of the economic and social tasks on the territory of republics./ For these purposes it is expedient to make them responsible for the guidance of entire social and cultural construction and coordination of the activity in this sphere of agencies, enterprises (amalgamations) and organizations of union, union-republican and republican subjugation functioning on a republic's territory.

The meeting of the population's needs in food products using local possibilities to the utmost, the fulfillment measure of food supplies to the all-union and republican stocks.

The coordination of the activity of enterprises for the production of consumer goods and development of the services, elimination of their deficit as well as responsibility for overall balancing of the solvent demand of the population with the volumes of the output of goods and the rendering of services.

To increase dependence between the volume of resources channelled for social development of union republics and separate regions and results of economic activity of enterprises situated on the territories of republics.

3. To strengthen the economic base of local soviets of people's deputies and union republics and its linkage with the results of the economic activity of all enterprises situated on a given territory it is necessary to /rearrange/ the shaping of republican and local budgets /on the principle of norms./

For this purpose, in conditions of the new system of prices, it is necessary to envisage the contribution to the local budgets on the basis of long-term stable economic norms of a part of the pay for labor and natural resources used, as well as the total sum of fines for environmental pollution. To introduce the payments to local bodies on the basis of norms from estimate profits (incomes) of enterprises (amalgamations), regardless of their departmental subjugation. To enhance the interest of the soviets of people's deputies in increasing the manufacture and sale of consumer goods to the population, establishing stable norms for them for a 5-year period of deductions from taxes levied on the territory.

At the same time, it is necessary to substantially expand the range of tasks of economic and social development of regions which should be tackled by local soviets of people's deputies at the expense of their budgets, to fully relegate to them the solution of matters of financing the construction of new enterprises of local subjugation, development of the regional production and social infrastructures and other matters of regional importance. To increase the construction of roads of local importance, as well as the production of local building materials at the expense of the funds from local budgets.

4. It is necessary to effect the /reorganization of economic management in union republics,/ without allowing for republics copying mechanically the composition and structure of union government bodies, and local bodies copying that of republican ones.

To concentrate the management of enterprises (amalgamations) of the heavy industry and geological survey mainly in union bodies of management, while the management of enterprises working for the local market should be concentrated in the republican and local government bodies.

It is expedient to set up the /main production-economic departments of executive committees of the soviets of people's deputies/ for practical guidance of the national economy in krays and oblasts. The criteria of the assessment of enterprises' activity by local party, government and managerial bodies should be brought into accord with the new economic mechanism.

V. Enhance Social Trend of Development [subhead]

1. The CPSU Central Committee holds that the /main political, economic and social task is to enhance the role of the human factor, to create a powerful system of motives and stimuli encouraging all workers to work fruitfully for the common benefit/ and on this basis to direct production at achieving a qualitatively new level of the people's prosperity, all-round development of every Soviet person.

2. To manage interests through interests, to combine material interests of a personality with the interests of a collective and society it is necessary:

To consistently conduct the line at /the earning by/ work collectives earning funds to repay labor and social development, to ensure the possibilities of their complete use. To embark everywhere on norm setting of wage fund of collectives in direct dependence on the end results of their activity;

To restructure the system of wages proceeding from the tasks of sharply enhancing the efficiency and improving the quality of work, increase the interest of the working people in fulfilling work with a smaller number of employed. Not to allow the wage-leveling, to ensure a justified differentiation in the pay, without setting any limit to it;

To implement a qualitatively new approach to /labor organization/ so that it should be in keeping with the requirements of the scientific and technological progress, to widely apply its progressive forms;

To create conditions for extensive use of /collective contract./

To promote the adoption of collective contracts by teams, units, shops, enterprises with involving manager, engineering workers and technicians in self-supporting collectives. To organize a collective contract, as a rule, on the basis of an agreement between the administration and the collective with allocating the necessary property to it and with shaping the wage fund on the basis of stable norms depending on the end results of work.

To revamp planning within a plant and material-technical supply, to pass on to enlarged norm-setting, to introduce new forms of accounting within enterprises.

3. To ensure broad application of /scientifically substantiated social norms/ in management, setting them as the basis for the planning of the development of the social sphere. To regard as obligatory the application of social norms in creating new equipment and technologies in designing, building and reconstruction of enterprises and facilities, in improving the labor organization and conditions, as well as in implementing measures for environmental protection.

4. To create a system of /shaping effective employment of the population./ In new conditions of economic management, it is necessary to cardinally improve the organization of the use of labor resources, of selection, training, retraining and job placement of personnel.

For implementing state policy of employment it is necessary to restructure the activity of the /USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Affairs/ and its local bodies, to make them responsible for ensuring complete employment, job placing, training and vocational guidance of workers released for other jobs and of unengaged able-bodied population, the granting of enterprises' needs in personnel.

To create a network of self-supporting centers (bureaus) for job placement and vocational guidance of the population.

5. The CPSU Central Committee emphasizes that the implementation of the inter-related system of measures for radical restructuring of the management is inseparable from the solution of the tasks of ensuring a /balanced demand and supply of consumer goods and paid services./ For this purpose it is necessary:

To set the trend of speedy development of the production of consumer goods and services and their subjugation to the population's requirements. To encourage in every way cooperative and individual labor activity;

To overcome the deformation of the structure of the population's expenditures, above all on the basis of considerable speeding up of the development of paid services, particularly in the housing and amenities economy, in leisure and tourism, cultural and communal services;

To speed up the development of cooperative and individual housing construction. To draw more actively the funds of the population into its widening, particularly in rural areas.

6. /To perfect the guidance of the development and use of the material and technical base of the socio cultural complex./ In drawing up plans at all levels, to provide for priority allocation of funds for an early solution of the housing problem, strengthening of health, meeting of cultural requirements of man. To enhance considerably the role of funds of enterprises in improving the conditions of daily life of the working people. To channel capital investments saved in the construction of production facilities for the development of the material and technical base of the socio cultural sphere.

To borrow savings of collective farmers, factory and office workers for the financing of the construction of socio cultural facilities under the gurantees of collective farms, entrprises and local soviets of people's deputies.

The need is ripe for overhauling the economic mechanism of the functioning of sociocultural complex -- education, culture, health services, physical culture and sports. To introduce self-financing of enterprises, organizations and institutions of this area in close linkage with end results of their work.

VI. To Efficiently Organize the Reorganization of Economic Management [subhead]

/The CPSU Central Committee plenum emphasizes that efficient organization of work and its timely coordination is a most important condition of the successful making of the radical reform of economic management./

It is impermissible that the lack of reliable organizational ensurance, tardiness and lack of coordination should lead, as in the past, to delays and incomplete implementation of a radical reform of economic management. Its steady and consistent implementation is a most important task of party committees and organizations, soviets of people's deputies, economic management bodies, trade unions and the Komsomol.

1. To carry out before the end of 1987 a thorough preparation for bringing into effect the USSR Law on State Enterprise (Amalgamation) and to apply its operation to all enterprises in 1988-1989, to place them in conditions of full cost-accounting and self-financing.

To implement the reorganization of planning, pricing, finances and crediting, the material and technical supply, to enter the 13th 5-year period with a new economic mechanism. At the same time to reorganize the functioning of central economic, branch, republican organs of management.

The drawing up and implementation before 1990 of a program of measures aimed at normalization of the situation at the consumer market, a substantial improvement of the balance of the supply and demand for goods and paid services must become the task of priority importance.

To draw up the 13th 5-Year Plan proceeding from the requirements of the new system of management, and to endorse it before the beginning of the 5-year period.

2. The CPSU Central Committee particularly emphasized the need for the consolidation of legal mainstays of the reorganization of the economic management of the country.

To revise and abrogate all normative acts, including instructions of ministries and departments contradicting the Law on the State Enterprise (Amalgamation), the new provisions in the area of planning, pricing, finances, and crediting, material and technical supply, guidance of labor and social processess.

In applying legislation to proceed from the view that any economic activity other than that prohibited by law is permitted to enterprises. As a rule, laws must be direct acts and must apply immediately to work collectives, state and public bodies, officials and citizens.

To work out strict legal procedures for adopting economic decisions on the basis of new legislation, to preclude the possibilities of voluntarism at any level of the economic system.

To systematize and codify economic legislation, to speed up the drafting of an all-union act on the procedure of drawing up and application of departmental normative acts, to take measures for enhancing control over departmental normative acts being in accordance with legislation.

3. Upgrading of economic knowledge of personnel, the ability to use economic methods of mangement in the atmosphere of democracy and wide openness are an indispensable condition for successful reorganization of management.

To organize everywhere the study of the new system of economic management, its explanation and concrete discussion in all work collectives and bodies of management. To restructure the system of training, retraining and upgrading of the qualification of party, government, managerial and trade union cadres. To base instruction on practical grasping of contemporary methods of economic management. To work out and implement measures for the consolidation of the material base of tuition, its equipment with up-to-date managerial technique.

To practice broadly exchanges of experience between executives of all ranks, to organize business clubs for directors of enterprises. To drastically improve training at establishments of higher economic learning and at economic faculties and economic education of specialists in all branches of the national economy.

To soon prepare new textbooks and teaching aids on economics for higher educational establishments and the upgrading and retraining system. To combine general professional training with economic training, to incorporate it in the state system of upgrading and retraining personnel.

4. /Broad development of democratic principles in society/ is an indispensable condition for the successful implementation of the radical reform of economic management and the effective functioning of the new economic mechanism.

The activity of bodies supervising economic construction and construction of social and cultural amenities should be carried out in conditions of openness and broad involvement of the general public in the elaboration of major decisions.

To submit for nationwide discussion large-scale scientific, technical, economic, social and ecological problems and drafts on their solution. To discuss widely among the population issues of socioeconomic development concerning the interests of the republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city, and rayon and systematically conduct public opinion pools on major socioeconomic problems.

To create conditions for public participation in the discussion of draft plans, budgets, laws and resolutions on major issues of social and economic life.

To provide broader information on decisions adopted by the government and departments and local bodies and on progress in implementing plans and decisions adopted. To broaden the publication of statistical data on the socioeconomic development of the country, union and autonomous republics, regions, krays, oblasts, okrugs, cities and rayons.

To secure that representatives of governing bodies make regular reports to soviets of peoples' deputies, work collectives, public organizations and the population, as well as through press publications, news conferences and other forms of communication with working people and their representatives.

The implementation of the fundamental reorganization of the country's economic management is a truly revolutionary process. Economy today is on the frontline of the reconstruction drive.

Radical change in economic management has become an inevitable necessity. The chief objective of the overhaul in management is to give fresh impulses to the social and economic progress of Soviet society.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum calls on behalf of the entire Communist Party upon working people in the Soviet Union -- factory workers, collective farmers and intellectuals -- to support the CPSU's strategic course toward the radical reform of economic management, actively join in its implementation, master economic methods of administration and learn to live and creatively work in conditions of full cost-accounting and self-financing, democratization, self-management, and broad openness.

Only by boldly and steadily advancing along this path will we be able to attain qualitative improvement in the life of all Soviet people, achieve genuine renewal of socialism and secure prestige and authority of our Soviet homeland, the land of the Great October Revolution.

ECONOMIST AGANBEGYAN COMMENTS ON PLENUM PROCEEDINGS

LD272234 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 27 Jun 87

[Correspondent O. Bobin report on a news conference held at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Center by Academician Aganbegyan; date not specified; Bobin identified by caption; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Bobin] A news conference has been held in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Center by Academician Aganbegyan. The subject of the economist's meeting with Soviet and foreign journalists was his view on the work of the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum.

[Begin Aganbegyan recording] If you leaf through the newspapers and look at the issues scrutinized by the party Central Committee Politburo you will see that during the 5 months since the Central Committee January Plenum there has been virtually no Politburo sitting which did not examine issues relating to preparations for this plenum. Our entire history of reforms was analyzed, a detailed analysis was given of why reforms have not previously succeeded, and of how this whole administrative management system and the braking mechanism evolved -- after all, these are multilayered in nature, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev currently said. Finally, a very correct and comprehensive analysis was made of the experiments being carried out and of the reasons for successes and failures in individual industries. Thus, a huge amount of material was prepared for the plenum. If one is to attempt to single out the main link, the main element which will determine how far the strategic task of accelerating our society's socioeconomic development will be fulfilled, then it is the management link [zveno upravleniya]. Either we carry through a radical administration reform in a serious fashion and breathe life into the initiative, creativity, incentives and driving forces of our development and achieve a spurt, a breakthrough, or we will take an evolutionary path of changes and improvements of what already exists without carrying through radical shifts, in which case our situation will deteriorate and the declared objectives will not be reached. Thus, the social and political value of this plenum is, of course, exceptionally high. [end recording]

[Bobin] The news conference lasted several hours. The correspondents -- representatives of the world's leading newspapers, television and radio companies were gathered here -- asked many questions about the creation of new organizational structures, financing and price formation. Here's one of those questions, about Gosplan's place in accelerating the country's socioeconomic development.

[Begin Aganbegyan recording] In a socialist country a special role is played by Gosplan. At a time when the entire management system is being restructured, the content of Gosplan's work, it's working methods and entire organization are radically changing. Gosplan must shed most of its current functions, first and foremost the functions of industry planning and regulations of the work of individual industries. Gosplan must concentrate on strategic functions and long-term planning. [end recording]

[Bobin] Concluding the news conference, Aganbegyan, secretary of the Economic Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, said:

[Begin Aganbegyan recording] This is the first time that all the basic aspects of the management system have been examined as a whole. It is the first time that an integral concept and program has been given for the entire reorganization [pereustroystvo] of management and of all its basic spheres -- a radical reform program. [end recording]

Sees 'Revolutionary' Changes

LD271853 Moscow TASS in English 2044 GMT 26 Jun 87

[Text] Moscow June 26 TASS -- Academician Abel Aganbegyan has said that the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that came to a close today had [word indistinct] revolutionary, far-reaching resolutions. Speaking at a press conference here today, he described the plenum as the beginning of large-scale intensive work for reorganizing the management of Soviet national economy.

Answering questions of journalists, Academician Aganbegyan said that various, sometimes opposite points of view had been expressed at the plenum. In his opinion, it is natural, because the plenum discussed very important problems which are of key significance for the destinies of Soviet economy. However, what is most important is that unanimity was reached on the cardinal problems connected with the reorganization of economic management.

Speaking about the future of chronically unprofitable industrial enterprises, Academician Aganbegyan said that, in his opinion, they should be closed down. If an enterprise is closed down, the Soviet state guarantees employment to its workers, he pointed out.

Cites Reforms' Goals

LD281751 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 28 Jun 87

[Text] Delegates are arriving in Moscow to attend the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, or national parliament, which is to open here in the nation's capital on Monday. On its agenda is the program for radical restructuring of the system of economic management in this country. The program, adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party at its full-scale meeting last Friday has evoked keen interest everywhere. After the meeting one of the leading Soviet economists, Abel Aganbegyan, for several hours replied to questions from foreign pressmen about the ways and goals of restructuring.

Many of the reporters wondered whether restructuring would amount to renouncing the socialist principles of economic management and getting near to the capitalist methods. Abel Aganbegyan said the reforms are being carried out in conditions where all the advantages of socialism are preserved. These are full employment, free education and health services, low housing rents.

IZVESTIYA DETAILS SUPREME SOVIET MEETING

PM3011S1 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jun 87 Morning Edition pp 1, 5

[Unattributed "Information Report on the Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The seventh session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, began work in Moscow 29 June 1987.

At 1000 the first joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities was held in the Great Kremlin Palace. The session was chaired by L.N. Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union.

On the basis of a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium proposal approved by the chambers' Council of Elders, the USSR Supreme Soviet ratified the agenda and working procedure for the session.

The agenda for the session included the following points:

1. On changes to the composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

2. On restructuring the administration of the national economy at the present stage of the country's economic development.

3. On the draft USSR law on nationwide discussion of important questions of state life.

4. On the draft USSR law on lodging judicial appeals against the illegal actions of officials who infringe citizens' rights.

5. On the ratification of USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees.

The proposal on the first point was put by Comrade Ye. K. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The USSR Supreme Soviet relieved A.U. Salimov of his duties as deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and N.N. Slyunkov of his duties as member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The USSR Supreme Soviet also relieved D.A. Kunayev and M.Z. Shakirov of their duties as members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Deputy R.N. Nishanov was elected deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Deputies Ye. Ye. Sokolov and G.V. Kolbin were elected members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The USSR Supreme Soviet heard a report from Deputy N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on the restructuring of the management of the national economy at the present stage of the country's economic development.

A coreport from the chambers' standing commissions on the question of the restructuring of the management of the national economy at the present stage of the country's economic development was then delivered by N.I. Maslennikov, member of the Soviet of Nationalities Plan and Budget Commission.

The first session of the Soviet of the Union was held at 1300 in the Great Kremlin Palace. It was chaired by L.N. Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union.

The deputies and guests stood in memory of the late Deputies N.S. Yeermakov, U.V. Lendyuk, R. Myrzashev, and P.A. Smolskiy.

The Soviet of the Union heard a report from K.S. Demirchyan, chairman of the Credentials Commission, on the verification of the credentials of the deputies elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union from 32 electoral obkrugs to replace outgoing deputies. The Soviet of the Union resolved that the credentials of Deputies A.A. Dodonov, R.Z. Sagdeyev, V.I. Lokotunin, N. Iskaliyev, M.A. Aytkhozhin, A.G. Braun, N.A. Panichev, Zh.K. Tutashov, V.A. Brezhnev, N.M. Olshanskiy, A.I. Lukyanov, A.P. Dolmatov, I.I. Nikulin, L.D. Ryabev, B.M. Volodin, N.F. Lukonin, I.T. Frolov, S.V. Kolpakov, Yu.A. Bespalov, N.A. Mitkin, Ye.M. Primavkov, V.V. Burdin, B.P. Vidyayev, V.I. Reshetilov, V.D. Kuptsov, V.S. Chernomyrdin, N.D. Shvyrev, K.Z. Terekh, V.A. Ivashko, V.Ye. Ostrozhinskiy, K.Kh. Tyulebekov, and V.A. Grigoryev should be recognized.

The Soviet of the Union made certain changes to the composition of the chamber's standing commissions.

Deputy I.Ye. Klimenko was relieved of his duties as chairman of the Transportation and Communications Commission in connection with his retirement.

The Soviet of the Union elected Deputy Yu.V. Petrov chairman of this commission.

Other changes were also made to the composition of the chamber's standing commissions.

The Soviet of the Union then discussed the question of the restructuring of the administration of the national economy at the present stage of the country's economic development.

Deputies L.B. Yermin, B.V. Kachura, A.A. Bryzgalova, R.Z. Sagdeyev, Yu.F. Bugakov, Yu.V. Petrov, A.A. Yezhevskiy, and V.T. Saykin spoke in the debate.

Thereupon the Soviet of the Union closed the discussion of the second point on the session agenda.

The first session of the Soviet of Nationalities was held at 1600 in the Hall of Sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers. It was chaired by A.E. Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities.

The deputies and guests stood in memory of the late Deputies P.P. Botsu, S.M. Imraliyev, D.B. Kabelevskiy, and I.P. Morozov.

The Soviet of Nationalities heard a report from G.M. Grineva, secretary of the Credentials Commission, on the verification of the credentials of the deputies elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities from 12 electoral okrugs to replace outgoing deputies. The Soviet of Nationalities resolved that the credentials of Deputies K.Z. Tasbulatova, V.I. Alavidze, V.A. Durasov, O. Khodzhakov, G.KH. Emiridze, P.S. Grishchenko, R.N. Nishanov, E. Zhakselekov, A.V. Kovtunov, A.D. Akhmedov, V.P. Sobolev, A. Khodzhamuradov, S.M. Nesterenko, V.A. Zaykov, A.A. Zelenovskiy, Ye.D. Doga, A.I. Kamshalov, V.I. Melnikov, and A.A. Kuleshov be recognized.

The Soviet of Nationalities made certain changes to the composition of the chamber's standing commissions.

Deputy O.S. Miroshkhin was relieved of his duties as chairman of the Credentials Commission in connection with his reassignment, and Deputy Ye. Ye. Sokolov was relieved of his duties as chairman of the Health and Social Welfare Commission in connection with his election as a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Deputy V.A. Grebenyuk was relieved of his duties as chairman of the Commission for Nature Conservation and the Rational Use of Natural Resources in connection with his retirement.

The Soviet of Nationalities elected Deputy N.F. Tatarchuk, as chairman of the Credentials Commission, Deputy Z.K. Kamalidenov as chairman of the Health and Social Welfare Commission, and Deputy V.S. Leonov as chairman of the Commission for Nature Conservation and the Rational Use of Natural Resources.

Other changes were also made to the composition of the chamber's standing commissions.

The Soviet of Nationalities then discussed the question of the restructuring of the administration of the national economy at the present stage of the country's economic development. Deputies M.V. Kovalev, O.G. Anfimov, I. Khayeyev, S.A. Niyazov, V.E. Siytan, K. Turysov, L.A. Simonyan, G.I. Yeremey, and R.A. Bagirli spoke in the debate.

Thereupon the Soviet of Nationalities closed the discussion of the second point on the session agenda.

The session is continuing its work.

IZVESTIYA'S LAPTEV ADDRESSES JOURNALISTS' PLENUM

PM251505 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 20 Jun 87 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Preparing To Greet the 70th Anniversary of October"]

[Text] A routine plenum of the USSR Journalists Union held 17 June in Moscow was devoted to tasks in enhancing the labor, political, and spiritual activeness of press, television, and radio personnel during the final stages of the country's preparations for the 70th anniversary of Great October.

A report on "The Role of the Mass News Media in Preparing for the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution" was delivered by I.D. Laptev, deputy chairman of the USSR Journalists Union Board and chief editor of IZVESTIYA. Today we publish the report, with slight abbreviations.

The period of preparation for the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution has come at a wonderful time in the life of our party and the country. The wind of change, the tremendous work of restructuring that we began with the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, the detailed concept of acceleration and the harsh lessons in truth of the 27th congress, the fearless analysis of the last few decades and the reliable guarantees against relapses into our old social ailments formulated by the Central Committee January Plenum, and, most importantly, the people's businesslike confidence that everything intended and planned will be implemented -- all this fills our days with the spirit of genuinely revolutionary renewal.

The CPSU Central Committee address to the Soviet people in connection with the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution has been an active mobilizing force in boosting creative labor energy. This document contains a broad program of organizational, ideological, political, and economic activity to prepare for the great jubilee.

We press workers awaited the publication of this document with particular impatience. For us it was to be a kind of starting point for the direct actions geared toward greeting the great date. We journalists are called upon to conduct most active work to propagandize, explain, and develop the propositions contained in the address, seeking to ensure that the party's slogans become a reality of our time.

Many editorial offices have begun this work and are carrying it out in quite a systematic way. A number of rather noteworthy pieces have appeared -- I would like to mention above all SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and its pages of historical documents, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, which is publishing selections of photographs from the revolutionary years, and OGONEK, which is unearthing names unfamiliar to many people. Central Television has shown several series of programs and movies on October themes. Some pieces are vivid and accurate, some are routine and questionable, but all this in one way or another attracts the attention and rivets the gaze and thoughts of readers and viewers on the sources of our socialist statehood and the milestones on the road that the land of the Soviets has traveled from October to the present.

However, I would venture to say that these swallows still do not make a summer in our mass news media. Let us ask ourselves: Can the approach of October, its world historical significance, and its influence on our life and the life of the world today be seen from our press? Unfortunately, the conclusion that must be drawn is depressing.

Since no one has yet accused journalists of lacking political awareness, the reasons for the prevailing situation must clearly be sought elsewhere. What are the reasons, in my view? Certainly, above all there is the fact that the problems of restructuring and the state's vigorous foreign policy activity have pushed pre-jubilee themes off newspaper pages. Although it is a matter of directly continuing the cause of October, the need at one moment to cover advanced experience, at another to seek heroes of restructuring, at another to deal with some other pressing situation has pushed into the background publications relating to history. However, it is also fair to remark that what is more of a brake on us is our traditional tendency not to deal with something until it comes knocking at the door, so to speak.

All these are familiar reasons. But there is another factor: Today, maybe more than ever before, we are aware of the need to specially prepare material devoted to historical and heroic themes. The problem of the authenticity, cogency, and vividness of these pieces and the readers' proper perception of them confronts us with unprecedented acuteness. [paragraph continues]

For if we produce them in the traditional showy ceremonial style, in the totally new information situation today, we will not only fail to cover the 70th anniversary of October but will also repel the modern reader from newspapers and television and lose something that we have perhaps still not assessed at its true worth: the trust that readers have loaned to the contemporary Soviet press. That is why the authenticity and quality of preparation of jubilee articles are of such keen concern in editorial offices and make them take a careful look at almost every October piece, at every word about such a complex theme. Sometimes this punctiliousness turns into overcautiousness, not only on the part of newspapermen, but also on the part of those on whose knowledge we could and should count -- social scientists. Today it is tremendously difficult to get an authoritative specialist to produce a piece for a newpaper about questions of the historical events and facts. All this is happening at a time when a totally unique situation is emerging around our historical path and when people who are a very long way from serious science or from deep knowledge of the facts are proclaiming their often subjective views with unprecedented force.

Of course, the preparation for the October jubilee cannot be confined to history alone, no matter how majestic this history is. otherwise we would be deviating from Vladimir Ilich Lenin's oft-repeated but ever-topical behest to concentrate most of all and above all on unsolved tasks when it comes to jubilees. The preparations for the October holiday and the discussion of it are also valuable to us because today we can discuss the problems of our work in general, for the reflection of October mediated by 70 years of our people's labor and struggle.

People chiefly determine the success of anything. The human factor is the foundation of our acceleration and the guarantee of the irreversibility of restructuring. At this crucial moment it is more important than ever for each of us to be aware of the importance of humdrum work, not only the work for labor collectives and the work of the masses, but also our own everyday, humdrum, most difficult work. For us too, as everywhere, this alone determines success. This alone shows our ability not merely to state that we are in favor but also, day in, day out, like water wearing away a stone, to bring to life the new cause for which the party has mobilized the country.

When analyzing this ability to implement the great truths of our time, it should also be noted that we are still making very unskillful use in our work of the extremely powerful lever that openness constitutes for restructuring and therefore for the cause of our revolution. We are failing to consider its deep meaning, which is that openness is a form of public self-management and self-control, and we, probably more than other detachments of ideological workers, are entrusted with developing and affirming tis form by fully informing the people of the real situation in the country, its past, its present, and as far as possible, its future. By providing timely and objective information, for only full knowledge of everything that has happened, is happening, and will happen in the state, the sector, the collective, or the rayon can secure a situation in which the masses, in Lenin's words, really know everything, judge everything objectively, and do everything consciously.

This Leninist formula means that openness brooks no exceptions. But now we are making such exceptions. It not our fault that there appear editions of newspapers, television programs, books, and magazines testifying that often in our country openness deals only with what carries a negative connotation, what has not succeeded, what we have messed up, what we have failed to think through or have criminally overlooked. [paragraph continues]

At the same time, what in fact consitutes the basis of the country's life and the backbone of our existence, our building, and our ideological views -- creative labor -- remains outside the scope of our attention. We have somehow turned away from the so-called positive side and are uanble to turn back toward it since we have thrown all our efforts into the struggle against shortcomings.

I don't think anyone will suspect me of calling for an end to this struggle or underestimating its importance. But while developing and pursuing this line we have no right not to see how our country and its citizens, who are devoting their efforts and thoughts to a useful cause, are living, developing, and growing. So surely our main task is to let people feel their labor and their efforts are in the center of the whole people's attention!

In my view, it is precisely one-sidedness and incomplete openness that explain the circumstance that in coverage of October themes we simply cannot get down to an objective portrayal of our country's 70-year history. The events of these years and the main milestones our country has passed somehow do not easily fit into current propaganda practice. The result is that, while rightly criticizing the blunders, including historical blunders, of the leaders or chiefs [rukovoditeley ili vozhdey] who have headed the country at various times in the last 70 years and resolutely pressing -- absolutely correctly -- for the elimination of all blank spots in history and the restoration of historical justice, we fail to notice that we sometimes move on from these details to generalities and begin to criticize not so much particular individuals, facts, and periods as socialism as a system in general. Of course, our entire 70-year history then appears to be virtually a single mistake, a kind of historical failure, in which case we have to switch the starting point for our computations of time from October to the present and portray ourselves as the founders of a new era, as it were.

I repeat, because I don't want to be misunderstood: Yes, there have been periods of our country's life that today more than ever need detailed clarification, closer analysis, and publication of all the available material. Of course we must restore to the people many of their heroes and restore to those heroes themselves their fame and honor, even if this is unforgivably late. But it is fundamentally wrong to emphasize this alone, it is unfair and dishonest with respect to the entire history of the Soviet state and the hundreds of millions of people who simply worked day in, day out, were unknown plowmen and soldiers, meek workers and kolkhoz members who bore and endured everything, who raised us, now so intelligent, knowledgeable, and critical, in considerable more difficult conditions, and who created the country's colossal strength, which today enables us to feel powerful and invulverable and to tackle the cause of restructuring.

The experience of socialist building accumulated over 7 decades -- every particle, even the negative ones -- is invaluable for our contemporary activity. Take the example -- no, not the teaching but the everyday work, the way of life, and the style of contact with other people -- bequeathed to us by V.I. Lenin, the first head of the first Soviet Government. Take his manner of seeking solutions to problems arising for the first time in history, his ability to trust people, to rely on them, to find the fullest mutual understanding with them. Life may have changed, but has any aspect of Lenin's personal practice become obsolete? Do we really know this all that well? We are rich, we have a colossal intellectual, moral, and revolutionary legacy. We simply need to study this experience without undue conceit, without dogmatism and formalism, to interpret it in accordance with the new conditions of life, to perceive the historical interconnections, and to be aware of the indissolubility of our kinship with our great forerunners, to convey all this to people.

History is contradictory, that can't be helped. It is always contradictory, it has been and will remain so regardless of our wishes and even our articles. The problem is to show this contradictoriness in full measure -- with all the errors and discoveries, failures and achievements. Unless this is most carefully considered, won't we repeat the errors of our predecessors, who presented history as a sequence of unadulterated epoch-making achievements? Won't we rush to the other extreme by presenting history as a sequence of nothing but errors? As yet we have a marked tendency to show the new as having arisen out of thin air, with no connection with what we built and created before and no connection with our historical path and its own sources. Surely it is a paradox: On the one hand, we loudly advocate restoring to people the whole of history without restriction, and, on the other hand, we ourselves turn our back on the foundation on which the possibility of today's transformation rests!

As I have already said, our treatment of history has a special meaning today. "Great October is continued in our deeds today. Essentially revolutionary restructuring and creative work are unfolding in the country. The aim is to accelerate the socialist society's progress" -- those words from the party Central Committee address encapsulate as it were the quintessence of the main theme of the pieces that we must today place before every reader and viewer.

In advancing the program of restructuring at the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, the party proceeded from the premise that such revolutionary tasks can be resolved only if the entire people tackle them, and tackle them without delay. This in turn is possible only if practically everyone fully understands the importance and essence of restructuring and society's objective need for it. It will be a fruitless exercise if restructuring is presented to people as someone's subjective wish, plan, or idea. We have been called upon to explain society's vital need for a sharp turnaround and to show every reader and viewer why, how, along what path, and by what means we can and must accomplish this turnaround.

We have done a great deal in this respect, and we have even been thanked, praised, and encouraged for a great deal. A great deal, but by no means everything that was required. That has to be said because restructuring is proceeding in an extremely complex way. It will be even more complex in the future. It can be said that we have just reached the decisive point that will determine its success. For so far we have largely dealt with restructuring in superstructural phenomena, and only now are we tackling transformations of the economy. For this reason, in my view, the approaching CPSU Central Committee Plenum is the decisive moment in affirming the new course and must essentially create a new economic system [ekonomicheskaya sistema] and a new economic mechanism. The fate of all our initiatives -- those we already know of, and those that are still merely in preparation -- will depend on this.

In connection with the restructuring in the economy we, our whole detachment of journalists, must increasingly deal with economic questions and the molding of the new economic thinking and find nontrivial propaganda solutions. As yet there are few, very few, such solutions, although we have been constantly saying this for 2 years.

We must be geared toward seeking those who can today be described not merely as patriots and citizens but also as fighters for restructuring and foremen of restructuring. We are called upon to push into the forefront of public attention people of staunch convictions and vigorous actions, people who not only have opinions of their own on the most important issues but also firmly implement their views and principles. [paragraph continues]

Not the rose-tinted heroes who by our will contrived and sometimes still contrive to avoid any conflicts in a world of storms and production misfortunes, but people in struggle, in a maelstrom of opposing passions -- that is whom readers trust today. It is with such struggling people that the implementation of our hopes in all spheres of life is linked and it is their efforts which produce the experience of restructuring.

The country needs this experience like the air that it breathes, and we must promptly convey it to the whole mass of working people. We must do so because, unless we do this, the difficulties of restructuring, which people are extremely keenly aware of, will not be balanced by anything and will begin to undermine our work, and not only our work. Unfortunately, our mass press does not always take this need into account.

Now for another question -- our attitude toward the new phenomena arising in the course of restructuring. We usually display a superficial and uncritical attitude toward them, which is not good in itself and is downright bad for our cause. We write about them seemingly "for form's sake," without relating today's decisions to even their immediate prospects. So there appear in our country ecstatic pieces of a new kind, as though we are afraid that any reflections about the new solutions and problems and the new experience will be seen as indicating that we have doubts about the need for these new phenomena and as criticism that rejects them.

Take the question of the election of industrial enterprise leaders. This is a virtually unprecedented form of democratism that has met with a colossal reaction in the country, among the strata of working people, has awakened new hopes in masses of people, especially young engineers and young leaders, and has opened up prospects for them. We totally welcome and support it, which is natural and correct. But surely we should also consider, for instance, what social guarantees are there against errors in this matter? What claims can the labor collective make against the state with regard to such an error and the state make against the labor collective? If the elected individual messes up the enterprise and reduces it to a state of bankruptcy, how are we going to solve the resultant social problems -- where will we employ the workers from the enterprise? How will we hold the party gorkom secretary answerable for the director's activity if the collective elected the director against the gorkom's advice? Or will we simply not hold him answerable? Will we compenstate for losses from the public purse or not? How are we going to monitor an elected director in the process of his work?

There are endless questions. We will not find an immediate answer to them all, we cannot get a handle on them all. But we must at least raise these questions. To ensure that the euphoria stemming from the first steps does not prevent people from seeing that elections are a colossal responsibility they are assuming and to which they are not yet accustomed. From seeing that, it is impermissible to play at democracy and make a choice based on sympathies and antipathies; there is the most direct link between their choice and the collective's well-being.

Or take, for instance, the question of cooperative publishing houses, which is now being vigorously debated. I'm not going to say this concerns a sphere that any political party tries to keep under the clearest control, in this respect we certainly have nothing to fear as yet. But there are dozens of other questions -- how material and technical supply for these publishing housing is to be organized given the mounting paper shortage, where the printing capacities and buildings are to be found for them, who is to defend the interests of the author and the reader, and on what legal basis? Can the economic and legal norms that apply to cooperatives in the services sphere, say, be applied to this publishing house or not, and so on and so forth.

Therefore these and similar new phenomena in our social life that on the whole gladden us and that we welcome require the most serious reflection. We must protect new ideas from the danger that they will be compromised by haste and unskillful implementation, which are always fraught with disappointment.

Understanding of this must permeate newspaper pages, suggest to us the correct tone, and sharpen our political sensitivity, constantly prompting the same question: What does a particular piece mean for our cause, in whose favor is it working, whose interests does it reflect? We must realize that although openness, in V.I. Lenin's words, is a sword that heals the wounds it inflicts, it is a double-edged sword.

In this regard, I must share my thoughts about the appearance in respected journals of a whole series of publications that are customarily described as being from the archives [s otdalennykh polok]. It is good that we are today publishing works that have lain for years in editorial desk and are returning to readers things they were deprived of in former years. This, I think, can be regarded as part of the work to eliminate blank spots in the homeland's history mentioned earlier. Litterateurs have mounted this work extremely vigorously; all credit to them for their boldness and resolve. But here, too, a few points of note have emerged.

First, there is the uncritical attitude toward the published works, the perception of them all as good and highly talented merely because they have lain around without being published. Criticism, including in our own pages, neatly sidesteps the literary, artistic aspect of these works, just as it used to sidestep the same aspect of so-called [party] "secretaries' literature." However, in my view the artistic merits of a considerable proportion of these works require serious critical analysis.

Second, the haste, indeed, the race to publish such works has simply ousted the present day from the pages of a number of magazines. But is our time less dramatic and interesting than any of the other periods experienced by the country? So why do we so often hastily turn the spotlight of openness on the past? It should above all help us to understand the present and to highlight what is today seeking to turn us toward the past. Of course, it is more difficult to deal with today, with the living present, than with facts dating back 30 years or more, but that cannot be helped!

Third, there is an aspect of this that ought to perturb us newspapermen above all. In my view, we are very shortsighted and improvident in our treatment of the interest and attention that our readers show in the mass news media. By bombarding readers simultaneously with dozens of unpublished stories, novels, letters, and articles and unmasking increasing cases of abuses, negligence, and so forth, we have, so to speak, sated them, if you'll pardon the expression. I think their interest in us is beginning to decline. That is my opinion, God forbid that it be vindicated, but such a turn of events is very likely. That is a strategic problem for our work, and we must think about it right now.

In general, it has recently become quite customary to criticize the local press for not participating vigorously enough in restructuring, and this criticism is clearly justified. But we must certainly be fair -- we workers on central newspapers cannot always understand and grasp the situation in which the editor of an oblast newspaper, let alone a rayon newspaper, works. When we encounter disgraceful instances where our correspondent is told to show his article to the local authorities before sending it to the newspaper, we somehow don't pause to consider that this practice may be by no means rare for local newspapers.

Yes, it has long been said that the question of local newspapers' work must be regarded as a question of the local party committee's work. M.S. Gorbachev has also said this. But to face up to the truth, there have been no changes in this respect in many krays and oblasts of the country, at any rate no fundamental changes.

Now let us ask what help we give them. Have there been articles in defense of journalists? Yes. There will continue to be such articles, I'm sure. However, these newspapers have not received serious analysis and serious support from the central press. We are still working in islands, separately, and we totally fail to take into account the fact that the system of our country's mass news media must be exactly that, a system. It must act as a system -- in a cohesive and coordinated fashion.

All the questions I have touched on are part of the general policy of openness that we are following, thanks to which we have been able to do a great deal and which we are assimilating, developing, and implementing to the best of our abilities. In this regard, I want to say this: I don't know whether the same goes for you, but I get the impression we are beginning to mark time, to put it mildly, in this most important matter determining the life of our entire press and not only the press. We have exhausted the problems that lie on the surface. Instead of deeply probing phenomena, we are going in circles and going over the same ground in various ways.

In just a few days there will be a plenum of our party's Central Committee that is to deal with questions of planning, supply, wages, and price formation, change our management structure, and make decisions determining the country's fate, in the literal sense of the word. What contribution have we made to preparing the public mind for these changes? Alas, to be frank, we have made a very small one. As we pursue petty officials out of force of habit, exercise ourselves about the shocking actions of an abstract leadership, and ferret out fires and explosions, we seem to forget the most important issue on which the development of our power really depends. It depends precisely on what is to be discussed at the plenum, on which the party has been working most intensively for many months now. Who is to prepare public opinion for this if we do not? We have prepared it, of course, but to a small extent and unpersuasively, as sociological surveys indicate.

Television recently showed a short but very noteworthy report done at a plant. The workers were asked how their enterprise was preparing for the switch to economic accountability. "It isn't," the workers replied. But it transpired that the enterprise had already been working for a month in conditions of full economic accountability. In such an atmosphere the customary system of petty tutelage, bans, and instructions survives and proves its irreplaceability and the essence of the new approach in economic management is watered down.

I will turn again to the problem of openness, to its effectiveness. Today this effectiveness is often measured by the number of discussions of newspaper items and official responses to them, by the number of people dismissed and criticized, and so forth. I think these are nevertheless merely outward manifestations of the real effectivenss of the policy of openness. Its true effectiveness lies in molding public opinion, in orienting the public mind, in the response in the hearts and minds of millions of people after a particular report. All the hitches I have just listed are the fruits of our slow reaction to the processes taking place in life, fruits of our attachment to petty themes and incompetence.

The simplistic approach toward openness plays into the hands of its opponents. Our pettiness, triviality, ill-considered decisions, and hunting after so-called sensations, of which we have all presented so many that not only our readers but even Western correspondents have ceased to feel surprise at them -- all this is ammunition to those for whom openness is a "thorn in the flesh." But today we may be faced with a kind of new attack on openness. It has to be borne in mind that the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, in resolving questions of restructuring in the economy, will inevitably tangibly affect the real interests of very sizable and very influential social groups, which will scarcely react unambiguously to this, if you consider, of course, not their words but their actions and specific behavior. Everything that can be used to defend their interests will be brought into play.

The party and the people need a permanent atmosphere of sincerity, honesty, principledness, and truth. I emphasize: permanent, not just for 1 year, 2 years, or 5 years. Such an atmosphere must become the natural state of our society and the norm of our life. Only in such an atmosphere will the social organism normally and rapidly develop. Only thus will we be insured against errors in policy and in everyday practice. The bright, clear light of openness will help us to solve any problems.

There are 5 months to go before the jubilee date -- the 70th anniversary of October. That is not all that long, but it is still a considerable time for journalistic work. Of course, this period will be full of major political events requiring both newspaper space and airtime. Nevertheless, we must utilize every opportunity to ensure that the theme of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is the leading theme in our publications. I call on all participants in the plenum to frankly discuss how we can best do this.

The plenum participants' debates took place in an atmosphere of sincerity and candidness and were mainly devoted to urgent problems of resutructuring.

"When there is a drastic breakthrough in the development of society, when passions seethe, the times demand of journalists bold criticism, journalistic meditation, and an honest civic stance," A. Kuznetsov, editor of the oblast newspaper BRYANSKIY RABOCHIY, said. The tone in covering restructuring is set by the journalists of the central press, and local press workers lose ground to their senior colleagues because the resistance offered by the old is considerably stronger in outlying districts. The theme of mutual relations between the party committee and the newspaper is becoming particularly topical now. Far from every raykom and gorkom is boldly shaping party-minded implacability toward shortcomings in the journalists of its press organ. If the party committee is restructured only poorly, then the newspaper is also restructured only poorly. "It sometimes seems to me," A. Kuznetsov said, "there has even been an increase in resistance to criticism. BRYANSKIY RABOCHIY published a sharp item entitled 'Position of Unprincipledness' which discussed the unseemly conduct of a Communist holding a leading position. During the war this man had 'lowered' his age by 3 years, which enabled him to stay at home while his contemporaries were fighting. Recently, before retiring on pension, he 'remembered' this arithmetical inaccuracy in his autobiography... Everything in the item was true, but Comrade Fomin, secretary of the Brasovskiy Raykom, did not support the position of the primary organization's indignant Communists and demanded that the obkom create a commission to check the facts because in his opinion the article had appeared in the newspaper in revenge for a critical speech by the secretary himself at the plenum. Only after the intervention of Obkom First Secretary Comrade Voystrochenko did the newspaper receive a correct and thorough reply."

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA political observer F. Burlatskiy spoke of the problem of covering our party's history. A discussion of this complex problem is under way and it is already clear that history cannot be depersonalized. Yet the standard program issued by the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education mentions only V.I. Lenin and in one place I.V. Stalin, as chairman of the State Defense Committee during the Great Patriotic War. There is, in fact, no clear position or explanation of the various stages of the history of our party and state. During public speeches students ask: How can we assess the activity of a particular political leader, and will stenographic records of the congresses of the twenties and thirties be published? We cannot brush these questions aside with general words, we need to give specific explanations.

A very interesting idea was expressed by the speaker concerning a certain asymmetry between openness, political democratization, and real economic changes and reforms in society. In Soviet society there should be a balance, regulated not only by our party's Central Committee but also by the press, between criticism and real changes in the life of society.

Z. Balayan, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's own correspondent for Armenia, drew attention to the fact that the words about journalism's current boldness and, consequently, its past cowardice sound rather strange.

"Government decisions have been made on the basis of our publications, ministries have been disbanded, and laws have been revised," the speaker said. "I am sure journalism created as far as it was able to public opinion on whose basis the party came to the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

"Today many journalists are carried away with self-reproach. But this can delay the pace of our development and push us to repeat the errors of the past. 'Everything -- pepper and honey -- palls, bread is the only thing which never palls,' a writer has said figuratively. So journalists today must be as thorough in their writing as people are in raising bread on the land."

T. Taganova, editor of the rayon newspaper ZAKHMET ("LABOR") in the Turkmen SSR, described the changes which have taken place in the republic's journalist organizations. Items which are new in content have appeared under new rubrics in the practice of this rayon newspaper in an attempt to show objectively and to analyze achievements and shortcomings in the political life of the republic and rayon, in the sphere of the national economy, and in sociocultural development. Questions of vestiges of the past, family relations, woman's role and place in society, and the struggle against drunkenness and drug addiction have been boldly raised recently.

Unfortunately, T. Taganova said, the raykom is failing to support its newspaper and the first secretary has not met even once with the rayon newspapermen and has displayed no interest in their needs and concerns.

T. So, chief artist of the Estonian republican newspaper SIRP YA BAZAR ("HAMMER AND SICKLE"), raised a very important and painful problem in his speech. He spoke of the layout of newspapers and journals and the competitiveness of our overseas publications like SOVETSKIY SOYUZ, SOVETSKAYA ZHENSHCHINA, AND OTCHIZNA. These publications, in the speaker's opinion, have still not found their own graphic style and do not represent the Soviet press abroad entirely convincingly.

The speeches of other plenum participants were also keen and businesslike, and they raised problems of improving journalistic work, mutual relations with party committees, and the style and methods of modern journalism. The USSR Journalists Union Plenum adopted a detailed decision on the main question.

There was also an examination of the progress in fulfiling the decisions of the sixth USSR Journalists Union Congress by the creative organizations of Lithuania, Krasnoyarsk Fray, and Bryansk Oblast.

V.N. Sevruk, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department, took part in the work of the plenum.

RSFSR PRESIDIUM RELEASES COUNCIL DEPUTY

LD271346 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 27 Jun 87

[Text] An official announcement: The RSFSR Supreme Sovit Presidium has released Ivan Nikolayevick Dmitriyev from the post of deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers in connection with his retirement on pension.

PRAVDA NOTES DISMISSAL OF BASHKIR FIRST SECRETARY

PM241102 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jun 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under general heading "Plenums Held"]

[Text] Ufa, 23 Jun 87 -- A Bashkir CPSU Obkom plenum held today examined an organization question. For incorrect leadership methods, substantial deviations from the norms of party life, and the persecution of workers who did not suit him, leading to gross violations of the socialist rule of law in the Bashkir ASSR, the plenum relieved M.Z. Shakirov of this duties as first secretary of the party obkom and expelled him from the obkom bureau.

R. Kh. Khabibullin, formerly chief of a main administration and member of the collegium at the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry, was elected first secretary of Bashkir CPSU Obkom.

For serious shortcoming and an unprincipled approach in his work, th plenum relieved T.I. Akhunzyanov of his duties as party obkom secretary and expelled him from the obkom bureau.

G.K. Kryuchkov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department, took part in the plenum.

PLANT ECONOMISTS' ROLE IN RESTRUCTURING VIEWED

PM231451 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jun 87 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Economist Cadres Must Set an Example in the Practical Implemenetation of Restructuring"]

[Text] Economic cadres, and plant economists above all, bear great responsibility for the practical realization of restructuring in the sphere of social production. The switch from administrative to economic methods of management is under way in the country. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo recently adopted a resolution to transfer associations and enterprises to full economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] and self-financing in stages -- during 1988-1989. Labor collectives are being given control of major financial, material, and technical resources to retool production and resolve social questions. Thus, increasingly favorable economic conditions are being created, under which every vigorous and knowledgeable economist can display his abilities well.

The majority of economic cadres, the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum pointed out, welcome the major measures being taken by the party and the government in the sphere of management reform and are becoming increasingly actively involved in implementing them in practice. But the detachment of economists employed in the national economy is considerable -- according to USSR Central Statistical Administration data, it now numbers 3.8 million people with higher and secondary economic education. Among this army of economists it would be possible to name many competent, enterprising, and principled workers, thanks to whose efforts efficient production of high-quality products which bring the country and collectives a considerable income has been organized. The accountancy service at the majority of enterprises and construction sites and in transportation is organizing increasingly strict accounting of resource expenditure, struggling boldly against figure padding and irrational expenditure, and standing vigilantly on guard over state interests.

This outwardly inconspicuous economic activity, if organized efficiently in collectives, can be of tremendous economic benefit to the country. For reducing material expenditure by just 1 kopek in every ruble of social product makes it possible to obtain an additional R14 billion of national income in a year. A certain shift has become apparent here too. Last year, compared with the previous year, 7 million tonnes of boiler and furnace fuel and 16 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity were saved as a result of reducing norms of expenditure on production and work in the national economy. The saving of rolled metal thanks to reducing expenditure norms in machine building and construction totaled approximately 2.5 millin tonnes.

And yet the recent CPSU Central Committee conference on the fundamental improvement of economic management showed that the process of economists' mastering modern management methods and new approaches in work is not an easy one and is sometimes accompanied by unhealthy phenomena and an acute struggle between the new and inertia and routine. Many economic planners have still not profoundly enough mastered work methods under conditions of full economic accountability [khozrascheт] and self-financing. And this reduces activeness and enterprise. Economists are sometimes not averse to complaining about obsolete instructions, while they themselves do not display the will or persistence to put an end to excessive creation of paperwork and eliminate obsolete approaches to work.

Workers of economic, financial, and supply services will have to admit that it was their fault, too, that in the first third of this year a number of ministries failed to cope with the plans for product deliveries under contracts and orders. [paragraph continues]

Efficient relations among subcontractor enterprises are being set up with difficulty. Suffice it to recall that only 80 percent of enterprises coped in full with their contractual pledges. The product sales plan with regard to contracts and orders was fulfilled by just 97.8 percent during the first 4 months, which is lower than for the same period last year.

Great significance is still not attached to cost-effective and profitable economic activity in all sectors. And it is no coincidence, for example, that sectors of the machine-building complex made R358 million less profit than planned in the first quarter of the year. Enterprises of the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, and the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry had particularly large debts. Among the sectors of the chemical and timber complex associations of the Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, which switched to self-financing as of this year, ended up greatly in debt as regards profits. These facts cannot fail to generate alarm: How will collectives develop and successfully resolve social questions unless they fulfill the plans with regard to profits?

Still not all economic and financial services are working actively to ensure that collectives reduce month by month the prime cost of the output they are producing. And it is no coincidence that 13 industrial ministries, according to USSR Central Statistical Administration data, permitted the actual prime cost to exceed the planned cost by R454 million in the first quarter. Almost one industrial enterprise in five failed to cope with the plan targets for reducing production prime costs. And more than half the enterprise at the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, which is working under conditions of self-financing, were like this. An analysis of the causes shows that sanctions in the form of fines for failing to meet product deliveries according to orders have a ruinous effect on prime cost indicators. Thus, USSR Light Industry Ministry enterprises have now had to lay out R185 million from their own cash office for this.

The well known party and government resolution on improving labor remuneration set economists great tasks. The new wage rate system is not to be implemented "wholesale," and wages and bonuses under the new management conditions must be earned by high-quality, productive labor. However, by no means everyone -- not even economists -- has made a careful study of the new wage rate system or the modern principles of labor norm setting. Wages in many sectors still depend chiefly on the volumes of manufactured output in rubles. And this hinders improved quality and leads to growth in shoddy output.

In order to unleash people's inititive, particularly that of engineers, and spur them to technical creativity, it is necessary more vigorously to eliminate leveling in their labor remuneration, improve incentives, and more widely disseminate the Leningrad people's experience approved by the CPSU Central Committee. In the light of the 27th party congress decisions it is necessary to renew cadres more boldly and ensure that every link of economic work is headed by real innovators who are profoundly aware of the need for qualitative changes and are capable of putting an end to inertia and routine and creatively implementing modern economic policy.

Party committees locally must constantly enhance the responsibility of economists for the assigned task and create in every collective an atmosphere of mutual exactingness, strong discipline, and implacability toward manifestations of sluggishness, red tape, narrow departmentalism, and parochialism. People must be assessed, above all, on their attitude to restructuring, their level of competence, and their ability to organize the collectives' efficient, rhythmic, profitable working. [paragraph continues]

It is necessary to seek out and promote economists who are capable of ensuring that an enterprise scales the foremost heights of scientific and technical progress under the new conditions of management and who can achieve a fundamental improvement in product quality.

Economists working in the sphere of production and management can and must apply all their effort and knowledge to the steady upsurge of the Soviet economy.

WORKER SEES INDUSTRY IN 'SAME WORN RUT'

PM261631 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jun 87 Second Edition p 2

["Letter to PRAVDA" by V. Yanchenko, joiner at a railcar building plant: "View from the Workplace"]

[Text] Kalinin -- Today many of our workers and leaders shrug their shoulders and spread their hands in surprise: Before, they say, people worked well here, but now matters are wretched. Why is this happening? It's frankly beyond me, another exclaims, exasperated.

But if we are honest, we have to admit that we have been working badly like this for many years now. Those who say that we used to work well have completely forgotten that in previous years we have always amended the plans. And indeed, even in the "good" times those plans had to be completed by 24-hour rush work, working on days off, and overtime. There were no end of so-called "specially important targets.' It was already clear in the late seventies that the plant was stretching the plan at the cost of large amounts of money. The self-seekers -- and at that time there was a multitude of them being bred at the plant -- began to dictate their terms: "Give us R100 a day, and you will get your plan." And they were given R100. Who profited from this? Many people. But not the state.

However, nothing on earth lasts forever. The plant's purse grew thinner, its machine-tool pool became obsolete, and there was not even any increase in production areas. And visitors from the ministry keep coming to the plant. The purpose of their visits is always the same: to say "Come on, Come on!" Then, in April, all the available manpower reserves at the plant were flung into the assembly shop to fulfill the monthly program. Even technical secretaries, technologists, and other workers from the administration services... They worked on days off and on the last day of April they worked round the clock. And even on 3 May. And still they were five passenger cars short. Not even a bag of money could help.

So what are five cars? By previous yardsticks that is a trifle; they would still have been handed over to the Ministry of Railways inspectors. They would have been finished in May. And anyway it was only five: It had frequently been more.

Today none of this is happening. Things have gotten moving. Those who could score R100 in a night, but have now been deprived of these exorbitant sums, are departing for places where they are still paid R100 a night. Leaders of shops and services, party workers, and other former leaders of subdivisions who once wrecked the already indifferent performance of the plant have also moved to more tranquil posts, or even to promotion to the ministry. And many have moved into state acceptance, including six former shop chiefs. And now they are recommending, advising, and indicating how to work well and to a high standard. They even boast that they start work at 0800 and finish at 1700. And they have not lost out in salary.

It has fallen to the lot of quite young people to lead many shops. It is very difficult for them now, and it would be just right to help those beginners here. But at a session of the plant party committee, chief of the timber-processing shop N. Shmargun asked state acceptance workers to help investigate some technological design difficulties.

"State acceptance is not your nursemaid," V. Vikhorev, leader of regional state acceptance, replied. He was, by the by, the former plant party committee secretary.

That is the human factor for you. This is my affair, and that is yours.

PRAVDA has already noted that the Kalinin passenger car today meets neither the requirements of technical progress, nor passengers' demands. I once asked V. Yaura, the plant's deputy chief designer, why we have been turning out the same old car for so long.

"We do what the client, that is, the Ministry of Railways, orders," Vladimir Georgiyevich replied. Then he began to praise our cars in every way. They are the cheapest in the world, he said.

But is it so? Let us take, for example, the bulf of the car, its metal intensiveness. We are the losers with respect to other countries in all ways. How do we use our costly hardwood timber? The proportion utilized is...18 percent. Or take the comfort aspect. I know for a fact that my collucotor does not travel in our cars.

It is permissible to ask the plant specialists, and not only the plant specialists but also the scientists who abound in the sector: Is it not really high time to create fundamentally new car designs and technologies? After all, the technology for the manufacture of our reserved seat cars is already more than 35 years old.

Alas, so far the scientists and the plant engineers cannot find a common language. And in the meantime we assemble cars with crowbars, hatchets, and sledgehammers, as fast as possible. More than 31,000 woodscrews go into the assembly of one car in the car-assembly shop alone. How do we screw in such a number of woodscrews? There is, it is true, a worm screwdriver. But it is difficult to work with, and the output norms are increasing from year to year. If you used a screwdriver, you wouldn't earn your bread. And so people "screw" with hammers. And how many varied metal dividers, brackets, and shapes there in the car! And it all has to be sawn, cut, and shaped by hand.

Everybody seeks reasons for the poor quality. The plant specialists say unanimously: the machine-tool pool land equipment must be renewed. Production areas must be increased and somehow a transitional technological reserve must be created in the plant's shops. But, incidentally, completely new equipment is gathering dust in storehouses and shops. Equipment worth several million rubles. Who is responsible for this? There are no culprits.

Well, recently the plant was allocated R2.7 million to continue its remodeling. True, the specialists say that this is only 10 percent of what is necessary. But, be that as it may, the equipment is already arriving. And again there is no hurry to install it. Now and again you hear of friction between production workers and engineering services. And matters stand still.

What is the result of all this? It appears that we have confused the actual fact of the introduction of state acceptance with restructuring. In any event, not a thing has been done at the plant to radically alter the workers' mentality. So far all the changes boil down to individual technical improvements in the shops and the eliciting of capital investments and new equipment. Isn't this why the results are insignificant? At least, I cannot get rid of the feeling that we are traveling along the same worn rut in the old rickety car. We should not drive off like this into the third millennium.

LENINGRAD: GORISPOLKOM BOOSTS EFFICIENCY, SERVICES

PM261715 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jun 87 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with S. Sirotkin, deputy chairman of Leningrad Gorispolkom Planning Commission, by correspondent V. Nevelskiy under the rubric "Program 'Experience'": "Leningrad Gorispolkom Is Building its Relations with Central Departments in State Fashion" -- first three paragraphs are unattributed introduction]

[Text] The Leningraders' initiative on transferring enterprises to a two- or three-shift system of working, approved by the CPSU Central Committee, has enabled the city soviet to carefully review and assess the entire 5-year program of capital construction laid down by ministries and departments for their own enterprises and to prevent the implementation of ill-conceived projects.

At Leningrad Gorispolkom's suggestion 2 out of every 10 industrial projects were excluded from the list of new 5-year plan construction projects. Over R100 million assigned for their construction will be used for Leningraders' social needs.

Our correspondent V. Nevelskiy met with S. Sirotkin, deputy chairman of Leningrad Gorispolkom Planning Commission. This is what he had to say about these facts.

[Sirotkin] We regard as of paramount importance not a parochial approach, but a judicious combination of the interests of the territory and the sector. As is known, the construction norms and rules are the same for all sectors. There are no variations in hygiene norms either. But the technological normatives are exclusively sector-related. And it is only possible to see the different hands of the ministries and to compare the best and the worst options for future production facilities actually on the spot.

We decided to carefully investigate every project and to see what its worker and equipment shift index indicators were and what the proportion of manual labor was. These three indicators gave us a clear idea of the standard of the production facility and its reserves. For instance, if an enterprise planning to build a new machine shop has a shift index of just over 1 and the proportion of manual labor is 40 percent, we say: "Sorry, we cannot give permission for construction. You must manage what you have with care and impose order in your enterprise. And then, when we are convinced that the index has increased to 1.7 and the proportion of manual labor has decreased 10 percent -- then you will receive the 'go-ahead' for new construction."

We act differently with the major ministries which have several enterprises in the city. The demands on them are tougher. Why is this?

I adduce the following example. For many years we upheld territorial-sectoral technological specialization and fought against small-scale foundries. Unfortunately, we had no success at the time -- the era of the "big centralized foundries" had passed. Interdepartmental barriers proved insuperable. Tactics had to be changed. Now we place the fundamental emphasis on specialization within the sector. "Essentially, your metal-working equipment is only in use for one shift," we tell a plant leader when explaining the reason for the ban on his erecting a new building. "But even if your shift index is increased to 2, we will still think seriously whether or not to grant permission, because on the whole this indicator is impermissibly low for the 'group' of enterprises in your ministry." In other words, if a critical situation regarding metalworking arises at a plant, it must appeal for assistance to its neighbors which have machine tools standing idle.

Initially I spoke about three indicators which characterize production for us -- Sergey Ivanovich continued, developing his ideas. But there is another equally important indicator. Before tackling the question of the lawfulness and expediency of the new construction, we study in detail the situation regarding the services sphere too. With the help of the trade union obkom, information was gathered for the enterprises of 44 ministries on the standard of labor collectives' social provision. And now, if some ministry insists on erecting an industrial facility, and the enterprise has neither polyclinic, preventive clinic, nor pioneer camp, then our position is simple: First see to the social welfare condition of those who work for you.

And this is how our planning commission has examined the technical-economic validity of 56 projects whose construction has still not been started, and it has come to the conclusion that over half the planned construction projects should be struck out of the address program of the 5-year plan! The party obkom too has supported our position.

From our own correspondent: [subhead]

[Nevelskiy] The territory and the sector... Their relations are taking shape with difficulty. And why hide the fact that the sector ministries, while tackling their own production tasks in a region, still only rarely and unwillingly resort to seeking mutual understanding with local soviets and do not heed their opinions. As a rule, in disputes between the two sides, the one who gains the upper hand is not the one who is right but the one who is economically strong. The authority of the Leningrad Gorispolkom is indeed great in some areas, but even the Leningrad leaders by no means always succeeded in the past in curbing the appetite of departments seeking to expand production capacities but unwilling at the same time to develop the construction of housing and social facilities.

And now, it can be said, we are seeing the first, real experience of new relations between the Soviet and the departments. On receiving such proposals from Leningrad Gorispolkom, some ministries preferred to keep quiet, while others began to protest stormily. In former times, perhaps, these protests would have forced the Gorispolkom to back down. But now it has insisted on its own way and refused to give in to pressure and stress from above. Again and again it has proved the shakiness of arguments put forward by departments dictated by departmentalism. A USSR Gosplan commission was sent to Leningrad. Several deputy ministers came with it. The heated disputes did not end in the ministries' favor. The Leningraders' arguments were so valid that the commission could not fail to agree with them.

What is behind the Gorispolkom's decision, its firm stance, and its careful approach to matters? [paragraph continues]

The over R100 million saved in capital construction is more than enough to build 108,000 square meters of housing, 3 preventive clinics offering 250 places, 3 pioneer camps with 1,500 places, a children's polyclinic, a Pioneer center, a medichygiene unit, and 2 consumer services centers!

BRIEFS

ARCTIC SUMMER NAVIGATION -- Murmansk June 22 TASS -- After a short break caused by high water on great Siberian rivers, shipping has restarted in the western Arctic. The summer season was opened by the M/S "Yuriy Arshinevskiy" of the Murmansk Sea Shipping Company, which reached Dixon today led by the diesel-electrical ice-breaker "Captain Dranitsyn". It is heading for Dudinka. The first caravan of ships with supplies for the population on the Siberian seacoast and Chukotka is being formed on approaches to the ice edge of the Kara Sea. It will be led by the nuclear-powered ice-breaker "Sibir", which has just returned from a high latitude expedition to the North Pole. The new voyage is certain to be difficult for the crew. Ice conditions in the area of new Siberian islands are complicated already now as solid pact ice impedes progress of another ice-breaker "Rossiya", on its way home from the east. Ice conditions further east are even worse. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1030 GMT 22 Jun 87 LD]

SHORTAGES IN SUPPLIES FOR AGRICULTURE REPORTED

LD250128 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2130 GMT 24 Jun 87

[Text] The latest session of the All-Union Operational Headquarters for Material and Technical Supplies to Agriculture has dealt with the "shortages of spare parts, machines, timber, metal, and rubber". The Volgograd, Minsk, Kharkovsk, Kishinev, and Vladimir works have only dispatched 430 tractors with sealed cabs instead of the more than 5,000 planned for the first 6 months of the year.

The "majority" of enterprises of the Ministry of Machine Building for Animal Husbandry and Fodder Production have failed to meet deliveries of equipment and spares "at a time when large-scale fodder procurement is under way within the country". The Karaganda metallurgical combine is 8,500 tonnes behind in supplies of tin plate for canned peas. Rubber component manufacturers have decided to catch up with their deliveries of rubber rings for fruit and vegetable bottling by January.

"In other words, the attitudes of the managers of a number of industrial ministries and enterprises toward supplies to the countryside has undergone no change."

MEDIA COVERS 15-20 JUN AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS

LD220102 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 15-20 June. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

15 June

Hay mowing is gathering pace in Kazakhstan: there are 32 million hectares under hay in the republic. (1950)

16 June

The harvesting of winter cereals has now moved to the foothills of Uzbekistan. More than 600,000 hectares in the republic are taken up with cereals. (0204)

Various types of grass have been cut on 2.5 million hectares out of a planned total of 32 million hectares on the sovkhozes and kolkhozes of Kazakhstan. There are already 1.3 million tons of hay in store for public livestock production and the same amount of haylage has been laid down for winter storage in the republic. (1100)

A new irrigation system has come into operation in Alma-Ata oblast, Kazakhstan. It uses the so-called self-pressuring system whereby the water is forced by itself into the sprinkling installations. The whole system has been laid underground. It has already transformed the Bayseit plain -- hay-mowing has already begun here. This will help boost livestock farming by increasing fodder production this year perennial grasses, soya, and corn have been sown here. (1500)

17 June

All grain storage stations have been prepared for the harvesting season in Chimkent Oblast. Thanks to modernization, their turnover capacity has been boosted. (1100)

18 June

Selective harvesting of grain crops has been started in Osh Oblast. The total grain acreage in Kirghizia is more than 500,000 hectares this year. (0600)

20 June

The Moldavian beet growers have paid a high price for the careless attitude they showed in the not-so-distant past toward black soil, the main treasure of the republic. Two or three times heavy rain washed away seeds together with a 7-10 cm layer of fertile soil from 42,000 hectares, accounting for nearly half of all beet fields. They do not recall the republican state agro-industrial committee's example of resowing sugar beets on great areas. In the opinion of specialists, this is the result of extensive methods being used in the industry, which led to increased field areas to obtain greater gross output and to the row crop being sown on hillsides. The hillsides lost stability because of the plowed inter-row spacings. A number of measures for soil protection and the normalization of crop rotation outlined in the long-term program for environmental protection and efficient use of natural resources will help to restore the former glory of Moldavian black soil. (0000)

Unfavorable conditions arose this year for fodder-procurers in Armenia. Dry weather has delayed the beginning of hay-mowing. A shortage of moisture has caused the crops to turn yellow and lose succulence. The grass in alpine meadows is low. Perennial grass crops are not growing at all on large areas. A particularly worrying situation has arisen in Artik, Sevan, and Yekhgnadzor Rayons. Because of the drought, cereal crops on nonirrigated land have suffered, too. Under such conditions, only strict observance of haylage and silage-laying techniques will make it possible to offset the losses to a certain degree. (0200)

The grain harvest has begun on the drylands of Surkhandarya Oblast and on the Karshi and Dzhizak steppes of Uzbekistan. (1100)

In Turkmenistan, the Amudarya Valley farmworkers have completed the harvesting of winter cereals. A repeat sowing of corn is now under way on the cleared areas. More than 50,000 hectares in the republic will be taken up with summer crops.

AMATEUR RADIO ENGINEER TRANSMITS VIA COSMOS-1861

LD252122 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1420 GMT 25 Jun 87

[Text] Alma-Ata, 25 Jun (TASS) -- The Alma-Ata master of sports Valeriy Petrov has conducted the first radio communication in the world via the new earth satellite Cosmos-1861, which was launched in the Soviet Union 2 days ago.

The apparatus for ensuring amateur radio communications, which is installed on the satellite, received the Alma-Ata engineer's signal, and the automatic transponder "Robot," which conducts the radio dialogue, issued Petrov with the serial number "001."

The Kazakhstan radio sportsman was first congratulated on his success by V. Lyuban, head of the command post of the USSR DOSAAF space equipment scientific research laboratory, who during this time was completing communication tests with the satellite.

The Alma-Ata man's success is not fortuitous. He was one of the first in the republic to "switch over" to radio communications via artificial earth satellites in 1978, when the Radio-1 and Radio-2 artificial earth satellites were launched. Quite recently he won the all-union competitions for communications via artificial earth satellites for the "Orbita" cup of the E.T. Krenkel USSR Central Radio Club.

About 800 individual and 250 collective radio stations in the USSR are operating via artificial earth satellites. Over 3,500 foreign radio stations from 75 countries make use of Soviet amateur radio artificial earth satellites for the retransmission of their signals.

HISTORIAN REJECTS REVISION OF SOVIET HISTORY

AU240845 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Jun 87 p 6

[Interview with Major General Stepan Tushkevich, doctor of historical sciences, independent researcher at the Institute of Military History, Moscow, by Lubor Kazda, RUDE PRAVO correspondent in Moscow: "New Tasks of Historical Research"; date and place of interview not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Kazda] Much has been said and written in the Soviet Union recently about unsatisfied hunger for thorough historical literature. It is being stressed at the same time that history must not have any "missing links." The newspapers have published a number of statements along these lines. Attention has recently been aroused by Academician Samsonov's statement that Soviet science has not yet shed sufficient light on the initial stages of the Great Patriotic War, and other issues. What is your opinion?

[Tushkevich] [Passage omitted] Now at a time when the CPSU worked out a profound analysis of the objective as well as subjective causes of the slowdown in the development of the Land of the Soviets in recent years, people focus more sharply on the assessment of the more remote past as well. They are no longer content with coming across the identicial formulations about the stirring events that used to "wander" from one publication to another. Not all the moments of the events of the war have been subjected to a completely critical analysis. Scientific research has not been sufficiently absorbing new documents and new facts and some periods of the war have thus not come in for a profound analysis and detailed explanation in all their aspects.

You have asked about my opinion on the views expressed by Academician Samsonov. He claims that Soviet historiography does not depict all the war events quite accurately. That is why questions connected with the degree of our country's preparedness to ward off the fascist attack on the USSR, with repressive measures affecting some Soviet military cadres on the eve of the war, and with cases of treason by civilians on territories occupied by the Nazis and of war prisoners in the service of the fascists are, in the academician's view, emerging as paramount tasks for research.

Well, what is to be said about this? There is no doubt that the problem must be raised in a principled way -- there must not be in history, including military history, any taboo topics and names, any time-serving depictions of the course of events, any embellishment of historical reality. Only such an honest approach is correct and in the spirit of the times. However, in my opinion, erroneous approches become apparent in the aforementioned statement by the Academician Samsonov and in the statements by some other historians.

[Kazda] Wherein?

[Tushkevich] In the inability to see and evaluate objective developments and subjective concomitant phenomena in a dialectical manner. Tearing individual facts out of a broader historical context amounts to violating the principle of comprehensiveness and historism [historismus] and, thereby, to a loss of the base that is needed to formulate scientifically objective conclusions. The ups and downs of war history cannot be examined separately from a specific analysis of the history of the CPSU and the life of the entire country at that time. In my opinion, the priority direction [of historical research] is to record the heroism of the Soviet people and the Soviet Army and to gain an understanding of the forces that were capable of defeating fascism. [paragraph continues]

When there is talk about new endeavor in research into the Great Patriotic War, it is not a question of rewriting history. There have been even such attempts and, as we know, they have not led to anything good. Historical science must study given facts in their complexity, in their dialectical contradictions.

[Kazda] The question inevitably ariese here about the completeness of the analyses made so far of the decisions made by the then highest representative of the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), I.V. Stalin, before the war itself, in the moments of the Nazis' preparations for their aggression against the land of the Soviets, and in the subsequent period?

[Tushkevich] Historical literature used to relay in its judgments on party documents which, after the 20th CPSU Congress, evaluated, among other things, the personality of I.V. Stalin. These documents stress that Stalin signficantly contributed to the buildup of the defense industries and to working out key strategic war operations. Also significant is Stalin's role in the foreign political activity of the Soviet state on the eve of the war as well as during the war and after victory. As was said at the same time, Stalin's activity was not free of mistakes and aberrations either. Stalin did not abide by the Leninist principles of the state's and the party's guidance. Incidentally, this was sufficiently demonstrated by means of both the cases of gross violation of socialist legality and some errors in the military sphere, such as the wrong estimate of the moment of the expected Nazi attack, connected with which were the setbacks in the initial phase of the war, and the like.

These aspects of Stalin's activity have even been reflected in historical literature to a certain extent; this is not enough. Additional documents must be studied. To be able to depict history truthfully, it is essential to open the doors to archives more widely and to more actively equip science with other facts and findings. It is not enough to rely on memoirs or fiction, the constraints of which some authors of historiographic works do not transcend. However, I believe that in the same way as it would be inobjective to ascribe in the history of the Great Patriotic War all successes of our party and the Soviet people to a single person, it would be equally incorrect to blame this one person for all mistakes. [passage omitted]

end